T.C. İSTANBUL TİCARET
ÜNİVERSİTESİ

THE ALGERIAN NATIONAL SECURITY STRATEGY TOWARDS SECURITY THREATS IN THE SAHEL REGION

Imad Atoui

Advisor
Prof. Dr. Mim Kemal Öke

MASTER'S THESIS
AFRICAN STUDIES AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
İSTANBUL–2018

THE ALGERIAN NATIONAL SECURITY STRATEGY TOWARDS SECURITY THREATS IN THE SAHEL REGION

Imad Atoui

Advisor
Prof. Dr. Mim Kemal Öke

MASTER'S THESIS
AFRICAN STUDIES AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
İSTANBUL–2018

AKADEMİK VE ETİK KURALLARA

UYGUNLUK BEYANI

İstanbul Ticaret Üniversitesi, Fen Bilimleri Enstitüsü, tezyazım kurallarına uygun olarak hazırladığım bu tez çalışmasında,

- Tez içindeki bütün bilgi ve belgeleri akademik kurallar çerçevesinde elde ettiğimi,
- görsel, iş itsel ve yazılı tüm bilgi ve sonuçları bilimsel ahlak kurallarına uygun olarak sunduğumu,
- başkalarının eserlerinden yararlanılması durumunda ilgili eserlerebilimse ln ormlara uygun olarak atıfta bulunduğumu,
- atıftabulunduğumeserlerintümünükaynakolarakgösterdiğimi,
- kullanılan verilerde herhangi bir tahrifatyapmadığımı,
- ve bu tezin herhangi bir bölümünü bu üniversitede veya başka bir üniversitede başka bir tez çalışması olarak sunmadığımı beyanederim.

Imad Atoui

Page of approval

M.Sc. Thesis

THE ALGERIAN NATIONAL SECURITY STRATEGY TOWARDS SECURITY THREATS IN THE SAHEL REGION

Imad Atoui

Istanbul Commerce University
Graduate School of International Relations
Department of African Studies and International Relations

Supervisor: Prof. Dr. Mim Kemal Öke

2017.

ABSTRACT

This study claims that Algeria is one of the African Sahel region's countries that have been facing serious security threats, because of various causes contributing to instability in African great Sahara. Particularly in the post cold war era, when African Sahel states have been suffering from internal issues led to exacerbate insecurity circumstances and opened the gate to foreign powers to intervene in African affairs.

Both African states' local problems and foreign interference have escalated the pace of security risks in Africa, and could put African future security at stake. This thesis comes to argue that the effective way for Algeria to stand against security threats coming from its southern part, require from both Algeria and African countries' efforts to be poured into concerted regional and international level endeavors. As, this paper enlightens the nature of threats that African Sahel states facing by one hand, and reveals African states' efforts to cope with security issues by another hand. Moreover, the analysis focuses on Algerian reactions towards threats coming from the Sahel region, within its followed strategy at the regional level. Further, this study exposes the foreign interference in Africa and how these powers compete to reach African land.

Finally, this analysis suggests what should for African nations to do towards their local and regional problems to avoid security instability that could cause security chaos in the region. Precisely, Algeria that has stood for peace keeping in many regional events.

Keywords: Algerian national security, Sahel region security, African security, foreign powers in Africa

OZET

M.Sc. Thesis

THE ALGERIAN NATIONAL SECURITY STRATEGY TOWARDS SECURITY THREATS IN THE SAHEL REGION

Imad Atoui

Istanbul Commerce University
Graduate School of International Relations
Department of African Studies and International Relations

Supervisor: Prof. Dr. Mim Kemal Öke

2018.

Bu çalışma, Cezayir'in Afrika'da büyük Sahra'da istikrarsızlığa neden olan ve çeşitli nedenlerle ciddi güvenlik tehditleri ile karşı karşıya kalan Afrika'nın Sahel bölgesi ülkelerinden biri olduğunu iddia ediyor. Özellikle Soğuk Savaş sonrası dönemde, Afrika'da Sahel devletleri iç sorunlarla karşı karşıya gelince, ülke içinde güvensizlik ortamının hakim olması ve Afrika devletlerinin yabancı devletler tarafından iç işlerine karışılmasına kapı aralamış oldu.

Her iki Afrika ülkesinin yerel sorunları ve dış müdahale Afrika'daki güvenlik risklerini hızlandırdı ve bu Afrika'nın gelecekteki güvenliğini tehlikeye atabilirdi. Bu tez, Cezayir'in güney kesimlerinden gelen güvenlik tehditlerine karşı etkili yolun Cezayir ve Afrika ülkelerinin birlikte uyum içinde bölgesel ve uluslararası düzeydeki çabalara ihtiyaç duyduğunu belirtmektedir. Bu bildiri, Afrika Sahel' in bir eliyle karşı karşıya kaldığı tehditlerin ortaya çıkarmaya ve öte yandan Afrika devletlerinin güvenlik konusuyla baş etme çabalarını aydınlatmaktadır. Ayrıca, bu çalışma, Afrika'daki dış müdahaleyi ve bu dış güçlerin Afrika topraklarına ulaşmak için nasıl rekabet ettiğini ortaya koyuyor.

Son olarak, bu analiz Afrika ülkelerinin bölgede güvenlik kaosuna neden olabilecek sorunlardan ve istikrarsızlıktan kaçınmak için yerel ve bölgesel sorunlara karşı neler yapmaları gerektiğini ele almıştır. Cezayir ise pek çok olayda barışı korumaya yönelik önlemler almıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Cezayir ulusal güvenliği, Sahel bölgesi güvenliği, Afrika güvenliği, Afrika'daki yabancı güçler

CONTENTS

Page

Acknowledgement
Contents…… vii
Abbreviations……..……..……..…..
vii
Introduction.....1

Chapter 1: Cognitive approach to study.
1.1 Security concept.....
1.1.1 concept of Security.....4
1.1.2 Levels of security……..7
1.2 Concept of Security threat……9
1.2.1 Concept of threat……..……..9
1.2.2 Motives and forms of security threats in the Sahel region……..…11
1.2 Concept of National security strategy……..……..12
1.2.1 Concept of Strategy……..……..12
1.2.2 Concept of National Security……..…13
1.2.3 Definition of National security strategy……..15

Chapter 2: Security threats in the Sahel region
2.1Geo security Reading in African Sahel region……..……16
2.1.1 Determine the geographic area of the African Sahel region…….....….16
2.1.2 Reality of the Sahel region ”geopolitics, security and economy”……..…….19
2.2Analogue threats in the Sahel region and the Saharan Africa……...……...21
2.2.1 Weak State in the African Sahel region ”crisis of State building, ethnic problems, identity, development and fragility of political systems”……..21
2.2.2 Touareg crisis as a model of state failure in the Sahel region……28
2.3 Asymmetric security threats in the Sahel region……..…31
2.3.1 Problem of organized crime “ Illegal emigration and trafficking in Human being…..……..31
2.3.2 Drug trafficking and arms smuggling in the Sahel region…….39
2.3.3 Terrorism problem in the African Sahel region “Concept of terrorism, terrorism phenomenon, terrorists’ groups”……...46

Chapter 3: Algerian national strategy in the Sahel region
3.1 Geostrategic stakes for African Sahel region……....50
3.1.1 The strategic importance of the Sahel region over Algeria……50
3.1.2 Strategic intersections of the Sahel region with Algeria……53
3.2 Algerian mechanisms to cope with security threats in the Sahel region…….…...58
3.2.1 At the National level……...58
3.2.2 At the regional and international level……...58
3.3Obstacles Algeria faces in bringing security in the Sahel region……..…62
3.3.1 Obstacles linked to Sahel region……62
3.3.2 International completion in the Sahel region……..……62

4.1 **Conclusion**……65

TABLES

Table 1-2.3.3 Age and Gender in three countries……...……38

FUGURES

Figure 1-2.1.1. Gondawa……17
Figure 2-2.1.1. African Sahel region……..…18
Figure 3-2.1.1 Distribution of Tuareg in Africa…….30
Figure 4-2.3.1 Trans-Saharan Immigration within the Sahel region's countries and from the Sahel to Europe……...34
Figure 5-3.1.1 Tamanrasset and In Gazzam with African capitals ……53
Figure 6-3.1.2 Terrorists Attacks in Maghreb and the Sahel since 9/11…….55

ABBREVIATIONS

ACSRT	African Center for the study and research on terrorism
AFRICOM	United States Africa Command
AQIM	Al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb
AU	African Union
CEDEAO	Economic Community of Western African States
CILLS	Comité inter-état de lute contre la sécheresse au Sahara
Daesh	The Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant
ECOWAS	Economic community of West African states
EU	European Union
FIDIA	Ransom
GITPA	Group International de Travail pour les Peoples Autochtones
IGAD	Inter Governmental Authority on Development
ISIS	Islamic State In Syria
MJUAO	Movement for oneness and Jihad in West Africa
MLNA	National Mobement for the Liberation of Azawad
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NEPAD	New Partnership for Africa's Development
OAU	Organization of African Unity
PENTAGON	United States Depaetment of Defence
RECAMP	Reinforcement of Africa's Capacity to Maintain Peace
SGPC	Salafist Group for Preaching and Combat
TSCTI	Trans Saharan Counter Terrorism
UN	United Nations
UEMOA	Union economique et monitaire ouest Africaine
UNODC	United nations office on drugs and crime
USA	United states of America

Introduction:

Both of enormous local African problems and foreign interference mobility in African Saharan and the Sahel region, push African systems to look for appropriate ways to address this strategic issue. African strategic solutions have varied between outsourcing and importing solutions from foreign states. However, Algeria has been betting on self-reliance to face of common challenges within Regional Corporation.

This study examines and reveals the Algerian security strategy towards threats coming from the Sahel region, as it analyses, and seeks to understand the nature of main causes of security challenges that African Sahel region countries face.

The reason of choosing the subject of ALGERIAN NATIONAL SECURITY STRATEGY TOWARDS SECURITY THREATS IN THE SAHEL REGION relies on two levels; Theoretical side and the scientific one.

Theoretical side: the aim to emphasize the complicated security nature and the escalated security problems in both African Sahara and Sahel region by relying on different theoretical approaches-whether that related to rebellion and internal wars causes or those are related to failure states in international relations-, leads us to search in the relationship between the evolution of security concept and the possibility of its use in different cases- for instance terrorism and organized crime- to provide approaches to understanding threats and bring them down to many comment events in the world. The main idea is that, how could the nature of failed state in the Sahel region pushes individuals to achieve their demands, even at the expense of the state?. Indeed, the isolated areas that are not covered by state's institutions have witnessed and known a vacuum that paved the way for the rise of chaos and insecurity.
Scientific side: This study tries to shed lights on nature security threats coming from African Sahel states. Particularly, escalated threats that menace Algerian national security,.

Through this thesis, the subject of Algerian strategic security towards threats in the Sahal region involves into answering on the study problematic that focus how effective is Algerian vision strategy to cope with threats and challenges, that could be faced in the coming time. To do so, the study included helpful questions:

-What are the Algerian positions towards security and Tuareg issues in the Sahel region?.
-What are the complexity of security environment aspects in the Sahel region, and its implications for Algerian security?
-What explains the state's failure to impose order and law to reduce lawlessness in the Sahel region?
-Can external foreign intervention be used to address cross-border threats, or focusing on Algerian approach that regional coordination is an appropriate approach to address these threats?.

This thesis argues that if African states build on African initiatives through a regional approach, this will overcome the existing threats in the region, and strengthen the role of the state without belonging to foreign projects. As it continues to claim that if African systems deeply understand the security features, they could then understand the real roots of the threats and dangers that Sahel region stands for. Finally, the more intense of competition between foreign powers over the region, the more it distracts the real problems that the Africans suffer from.

CHAPTER 1: COGNITIVE APPROACH TO STUDY.

1.1 Security concept

1.1.1 Definition of Security concept:

Linguistic concept of security:

In order to redefine linguistically the concept of Security from deferent linguistic lexicons, we would rather go through what some dictionaries come up with, consequently, our linguistic definition relies on English, Turkish and Arabic, to spell such vocabularies out and disentangle their linguistic approaches to Security concept:

English:

Most of our used dictionaries in our study, are quasi agreed about the concept of SECURITY as being Secure or conditions of being safe, however, they slightly differ from the case of use .I.e., while the concept of security is being related to narrow cases of being safe. Oxford Dictionary[1], Macmillan Dictionary[2] clearly and briefly assert that SECURITY is: "safety from attack…Every precaution has been taken to ensure the personal security of the delegate"[3] .that the focus of from where being secure is taking a broad states in other lexicons, furthermore, the standard Dictionary defines many states that lead to danger for instance; risks, poverty[4], apprehension and what leads to insecurity between individuals

Turkish:

Through the Turkish dictionary, the security concept is feeling secure[5], law enforcement in community life and the circumstance within people living secure and without feeling scared[6]

Arabic:

We read from the Arabic famous dictionary "Li-ssan El-Arab" of Ibn.Menzour, Security is from secure that is to mean being safe, and Security is the contrast of Fear[7].

---

[1] -The oxford Universal Dictionary Illustrated , third edition, Oxford University Press, Eli Hous, London1965, V1,p.1828.

[2] - Macmillan English Dictionary, international student Edition, Malaysia2006, P.1282.

[3] -Ibid.

[4]-Funk and Wagnalls Standart Dictionary, International Edition, Funk and Wagnalls company, USA 1960,V1,P.1139.

[5] - Turkce Sozluk; Baskidan yapilan Tipkibasim, Ataturk, Dil ve Tarih Yuksek Kurumu TURK DIL KURUMU.Ankara, 2009, p.817.

[6] -Turkce Sozluk,Ibid

[7] - ابن منظور: لسان العرب، P.162.V1,

It is basically asses security as being secure from everything causing fear or being insecure.

As, it is the same definition we read from what Ezza-Maghshari pointed out, it is the fact that being secure from fear.

Concept of Security:

Defining the concept of "security" is still debatable and getting different value in social science, since there is no broad consensus in opinion between both scholars and theories on its meaning[8], it therefore depends on culture, perceptions of reality and peoples' ideas.

This fact, is become gradually stronger by the significant number of security's definitions and the plethora of attempts to shape the definition of "security"[9] that have spread by different ideologies, particularly in the Post-cold war[10].

Multiple voices of both theorists and scholars clamming for a new thinking to security in International relations, came obviously to encroach Machiavellian ethics, overcome the old system of Westphalia and Clausewitzian war philosophy:" In the post-Cold War world, traditional boundaries drawn between civil society…,This transformation opens up new political spaces in international relations, filled both with opportunities and threats. Established state centric and externally directed conceptions of security are inadequate to capture the complexity of new, multifaceted international relations"[11]

And, in addition to interdependence and the cooperative dimension of security that being valued during previous decades, the nineties clearly raised with generalization of debates and critical perspective, it moreover added a study of concepts' construction and focused on the proposals of human and society concepts.

Mainly, under the context of national security, our concept is not being concerned with testing such hypothesis or building theory, though it is attached to both. However, it is concerned with defining and clarifying the concept of National security out of scholars and theorists' discussions and polemics, it is therefore to be from deferent theories' vantage of views.

---

[8] -Robert Ondrejcsák : Introduction to Security Studies, Centre for European and North Atlantic Affairs (CENAA), Bratislava 2014,P.11.

[9]- For the attempts's overview, see : Emma Rothschild, 'What is Security?, Daedalus, 124 (1995), p-p. 53-98

[10] -National Security, Common Security, Collective Security, Shared Security, Human Security.See: THE EVOLUTION OF THE CONCEPT OF SECURITY PDF, IEEE Framework Document TCol. DEM Mario Laborie Iglesias, Nº 05/2011,P.1.

[11] - Raimo V. Concepts of Security Revisited. *Mershon International Studies Review* 39 (suppl. 2), 1995. – P. 259.

Realism:

During the cold war period, realism was a dominant theory that especially belongs to traditional approaches to security studies. It claimed that; security is based on power of a country, while this latter uses its power to influence on the international system.

Some traces of intellectual references and philosophic origins of realism can be traced in the writings of some both thinkers and philosophers such as the Chinese "Sun Tzu" in his book " The Art of War", the Greek "Thucydides" in his "History of the Peloponnesian War" By another word, traditional Realism theory considered states are mostly international actor, it therefore came to stand for state-centrism as long as states seek for their national interest; within secure oneself is the most significant interest of the state, since this theory strongly argued that there is none international authority above the level of state-the absence a sovereign for relations between states- and the anarchical international community leads to self help-system. According realists there is consequently no actor stronger and important than state-States have considered as by far the most powerful -, that is to mean, states struggle for survival[12] and, both human security and human rights are defined according realists as international matters, then, they are consequently placed outside of what realist theory claimed.

Following on Realist model's theory, and, since the absent of political sovereign among states[13] "Security Dilemma" is one of the significant terms surfaced then, that; it being the completion for the opener to security-Power. States have enhanced and seek for power after power for their security more than they need, what ultimately leaded to threatening others, and those threatened countries would have respond in turn, consequently, as a solution to overcoming security dilemma threats among states that present a weakening of the system, Realists relied on "Balancing of power" as a strategy during the Cold War.

Liberalism:

It is one of the main opposed theories to realism. In spite of the critics to Liberalism theory[14], a huge number of scholars and students of politics still consider Liberalism as a significant concept, further, the theory that could define the world in twentieth century[15], due to its richness of thinking, that; it contains and carries a variety of disciplines and several of approaches. It is mainly based on four fundamental ideas:

[12] - International relations and security concepts. Human security journal. Vol. 5. 2007. – P. 21.
[13] - Cooperation under the security dilemma :World politics,N.2,Januarry 1978,P-P.167-213.
[14] - For instance Howard.M:said:" All those thinkers who believe the world to be profoundly other than is should be…so to far to change it" see : War and the Liberal conscience, New Brunswick, Rutgers University Press,1978, P.11.
[15] -See Simmons.B and others : Introduction :The international diffusion of Liberalism, International organization, 2006, P.781.

Individual freedom, property, individual responsibility and equality in front of the law.[16]

Liberalism argued in contrast to Realism, that, even though, within the International hierarchical system state is an actor at some circumstances, it being however less than important at all, as Realists contrary claimed. It was therefore based on consolidation of global security[17]. This idea was inspired and noticed by the US' president Woodrow Wilson in World War1, within all states are supposed to transfer their domestic philosophy to foreign policy. Ultimately the ideas of International Liberalism lead to create the SOCITY OF NATIONS (League of Nations).

By another word, Liberalism security nowadays has four fundamental instruments: democratization, international law, political integrations and the international organizations.

Constructivism:

Here again, Constructivism is another method we talk within our study over after Realism and Liberalism, however it is slightly different than the main cited traditional theories of Realism and Liberalism. Despite the fact that the debatable conversations upon Constructivism if whether being theory or school[18], we prefer to take Constructivism for an approach to security concept, out of theoretical disruptions as we have previously did.

It is therefore, an analytical perspective that argues that in addition to the maintain of actors that exist, both of these concepts and theories contribute to a useful analysis, but it does not give all the focus, it is specifically based on that International relations as "socially constructed" it by that stands for a "middle ground" position.[19]

Constructivism, adopted an ontological position in which actors and structures constitute each other through interaction, where actors create the structure to define the content of rules and norms, but, the created structure otherwise influence actors' identity and their way of behaving.[20]

---

[16] - Oana-Andreea Pirnuta and Dragos Nicolae Secarea: Defining the Liberal concept of security: Liberalist and its impact on security systems, Transilvania. University. Brasov. Romania, Lucian Blaga University, Sibiu, Romania, P104, Pdf, see the link: http://www.afahc.ro/ro/revista/Nr_1_2012/Articol_Pirnuta_Secarea. pdf.

[17] - Doyle, M: New Thinking in International Relations Theory, Boulder, West view Press,1997, P19.

[18] - Nilüfer Karacasulu - Elif Uzgören: EXPLAINING SOCIAL CONSTRUCTIVIST CONTRIBUTIONS TO SECURITY STUDIES, PDF, Link: http://sam.gov.tr/wp-content/uploads/2012/02/KaracasuluUzgoren.pdf,2017, P.3.

[19] - Steve Smith and Patricia Owens, "Alternative Approaches to International Theory", in John Baylis and Steve Smith Smith and Patricia Owens: The Globalization of World Politics, Oxford University Press, 2001, p. 274.
Emanuel Adler: Seizing the Middle Ground: Constructivism in World Politics", European Journal of International Relations, Vol. 3, No. 3, 1997, p. 319-363.

[20] - International relations and security concepts, Ibid, P. 22.

1.1.2 Levels of Security:

From a theoretical point of view, levels of analysis are used to help analysts to define the sources of explanations and the outcomes

A-Global Level:

Global security level refers to international system, that is a system which requires a strong institutions- world government-, that manage and control between states by enforcing and executing rules and norms[21]. It incorporates according Palma Commission in its subtitled report" Blueprint for Survival" in 1982, an agenda of common security for a community of humans, the commission agreed for Common security instead of the strategy of mutual deterrence that had been used before, within it invited for a transformation of world order to make it peaceful and capable for trade and travel with intercultural of exchanges and ideas by jointing the program of disarmament and arm control[22].

According Buzan, Wild and Wæver who called this level as "International System" to designate and appoint the mixture of interdependent states(unites)[23], since there is no neither a security institutions nor global government with a global responsibility, that is to mean global security refers to security sector's environment .

In terms of institutions, the United Nations (UN) is even a global security institution with number of member states from all over the world, however it provides insufficient security role because of the dominance of national over collective security interests[24].

B- Regional Level

Regional level is one of fuzziest concepts to define, since there is no consistent meaning upon it, that the meaning remains ambiguous whether in geographical or political terms. From geographical perspective, Mieczyslaw Malec defined the term "Regional" as associated regions with continents or being parts of[25]. Politically, she went ahead to argue that the political definition is the hardest concept to define, further, a good example she came up with to show how much is complexity to determine Regional, by taking NATO's activities. That NATO geographically spans two continents, where the meaning here leads technically to extra-regional geographically and to regional in terms of politic in the same time, albeit NATO is centered on

---

[21] - Helga Haftendorn: The Security Puzzle: Theory-Building and Discipline-Building in International Security, International Studies Quarterly ,1991, p. 11.
[22]- Ibid, p.12.
[23] - Barry Buzan, Ole Wæver and Jaap de Wilde: Security: A New Framework for Analysis, Lynne Rienner Publishers, Boulder London, 1998, p. 5.
[24] - Helga Haftendorn, Ibid, p.8.
[25] - Mieczyslaw Malec: Security Perception: Within and beyond the traditional approaches ,Master thesis, Naval postgraduate school, Monterey California,2013, p.54.

transatlantic region and it conducts activities in Afghanistan and Iraq. Considering that the NATO's given example is still debatable to be somewhere between regional and global levels, however NATO's case could not be treated as global level since it is not responsible for global security[26].

Coming back to the semantic meaning, we have firstly to clarify that regional could be treated as a part of "international" security, that regional security takes somehow the meaning of "international", Whether when it comes to a number of states in one region or between two states. Moreover, we have to take also in account that International security that was introduced as a subfield of security studies, was originally about security concerns that was related to nuclear weapons, that is to say it is neither a sector nor a level[27] .

For Buzan, regional security is" a distinct and significant sub-system of security relations that exists among a set of states whose fate is that they have been locked into close geographic proximity with one another"[28], as he pointed out that regional security has four major main characteristics; security region has to be contained two or more states, must for state being in relative geographic proximity to one another state"[29] the security Interdependence on within the regional level is more pronounced than at the global level " and security region is known by manners found within state's security practices[30].

State level:

Historically, the paradigm of national security level dated back to the rise of nation states in seventeenths century, when the interest in the survival of nation lead to security of nation, that became an outstanding concern.

State security level, is also one of the concepts that remains obscure, Buzan, Wæver, and de Wilde elucidated the meaning of "unit" level of analysis by which they meant the actors contain of various communities, subgroups, organizations and individuals that are different and coherent to be distinct from others at high level (nation, state),they however do not illustrate the different between organizations at regional and state level. Furthermore, the same writers appointed "subunits" as another related meaning to the level that means groups of individuals in unite try or able to effect the behavior of unit (Loubies, bureaucracies)[31].

---

[26] - Ibid, p.54.
[27] - Helga Haftendorn, Ibid, p. 9.
[28] - Pine Roehrs: Weak states and implications for regional security: A case study of Georgian instability and Caspian regional insecurity, Rea=search paper N°97, research institute for Europian and American studies, 2005, p.13.
[29] - Ibid,p-p.13-14.
[30] -Ibid.p.14.
[31] - Barry Buzan, Ole Wæver and Jaap de Wilde, Ibid, p.6.

Some argued that, even the concept of national security refers traditionally to state security, both terms state and nation are used interchangeably, where concepts of state security, nation security and the new appeared concept of homeland security are all referring to state level[32].

Individual level:

According some authors, Individual level or personal level that has an influence in analysis, it is less significant from security studies vantage of view since it belongs to human security at a global level, that personal or individual security losses so much of justifications if it is considered at this level. Thus, they consequently argued that human security is a group of people or organizations that seek to help suffering people over the world, by collecting money from several sources and acting above the level of state. Furthermore, they claim that should for human security not being considered as an independent sector since its issues are existed within other sectors. And consequently societal security is most being considered rather that individual[33].

1.2 Concept of Security threat:

1.2.1 Concept of threat:

In general, the concept of threat or menace in English or in some Latin languages[34] comes back from the Latin world "TRUDERE" . According Koschnik, the term « Threat" refers to "a communication of a disagreeable alternative to an individual or group by one in authority or who pretends to be"[35], which also defined as:" possibility of something happening that will injure, harm, or kill somebody, or will damage or destroy something."[36]

In politics and security studies the concept of Threat still does not find a consensual definition, from scholars' inconsistent given meanings to the concept. Historically the core of threat settled on war or on power. In his fundamental text, Thucydides had hinted at assessment of threat by balancing or allaying against threatening power.[37]

---

[32] - Mieczyslaw Malec, Ibid, p.56.
[33] - Mieczyslaw Malec, Ibid,p.65.
[34] - Frensh, Spanish and Italian.
[35] - Koschnik 1992,P.210, quoted from; Hans Günter Brauch : Concepts of Security Threats, Challenges, Vulnerabilities and Risks, pdf, Coping Global Environmental Change, Disasters and Security, 2011, on: https://www.google.com.tr/search?sclient=psyab&biw=1366&bih=568&noj=1&q=Concept+of+threat+PDF&oq=
Concept+of+threat+PDF&gs_l=serp.3..0i22i30k1l2.541622.547804.1.548138.5.5.0.0.0.0.516.1092.2-2j5-1.3.0....0...1c.1j2.64.serp..2.2.571...0i10i30k1j0i30k1j0i8i30k1.X94Iz6N_YTA.
[36] - Sally Wehmeier, (ed), Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary, 6thEdition, Oxford University Press, 2001, p. 316.
[37] - Janice Gross Stein : Threat perception in international relations, Forthcoming in The Oxford Handbook of Political Psychology, 2nd ed. Edited by Leonie Huddy, David O. Sears, and Jack S. Levy. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013, PDF, p1. See:

Only, during the last decades, scholars directed seriously to search and look at the source of threat out off military capabilities towards a building of new models that explicitly emphasize their explanations to the causes of War.[38]

For Janice Gross Stein claims that:" Threats do not unambiguously speak for themselves. Understanding the meaning of threats is mediated by the perception of the target", further, she argues that threat takes two forms, it could be verbal or physical :" Verbal threats are conditional statements designed to signal the capacity and intention to inflict harm if desired results are not forthcoming. Verbal threats usually take the form of if then statements: if you do not do as I ask".[39]Robertson, utilized the concept of "threat assessment" in analyzing the causes stood behind opponents' armament programs.

Threat according Haftendorn, Robert Keohane, and Celeste Wallander is the most apparent cause of the most security problems[40], they claim that threats are happened while a state(s) possess(s) the capacity and intention to put an end to other state(s)'s security[41]. On the contrary, Raymond Cohen determined the concept to the state aspect, he claimed thereby that the concept of threat should be understood as an anticipated reading on the part of an observer (who may be decision-maker) of an akin harm to the state[42] (Military, economic or strategic). Rather than defining the concept as an active undertaking, David Baldwin defined threat as a passive outcome[43] .

Relatively earlier, in international politics and security studies, literature upon threat perception has been shaped within theoretical discussions, David Singer argued that threat arises out of a dispute situation[44], that means; each side of policy-makers "perceive the other as a threat to its own national security"[45], and such meaning is a relying on both estimated intents and capabilities. However, some are contrary considering that there is no reason to count on capability and intent, and it should never overlook the irrational and involuntary aspect of threat[46]. Further, Barry Buzan described a threat as a situation of insecurity, and he distinguished between Military threat, economic threat and ecologic threat[47]

---

https://www.surrey.ac.uk/politics/research/researchareasofstaff/isppsummeracademy/instructors%20/Stein%20-%20Threat%20Perception%20in%20International%20Relations.pdf

[38] - Ibid.

[39] -Ibidem

[40] - Helga Haftendorn, Robert O. Keohane and Celeste A. Wallander: Imperfect Unions, Security Institutions over Time and Space, Oxford University Press, 1999, p. 2.

[41] - Ibid,p.2.

[42] - Raymond Cohen:Threat perception in International Crisis, The University of Wisconsin Press, 1979, p. 5.

[43] - David Baldwin, "Thinking about threats," Journal of Conflict Resolution 15 (1971), p-p. 71-78.

[44] - Mieczyslaw Malec : Security perception: Within and beyond the traditional approaches,Master's thesis , Naval postgraduate school, Monterey, California, 2.13, P.14.

[45] - Ibid, p.15.

[46] - Ibidem.

[47] - Hans Günter Brauch : Ibid, p.63.

Following on, and building on the previous given definitions above, the concept of threat relies on the estimation of the past, that some of the scholars argued that estimates of the past is the only and the way to comprehend references from contradictory information, since the past inters directly in future and the future is predictable then[48], therefore:" Predispositions to perceive threat derive from such sources as distrust, past experience, contingency planning, and personal anxiety. They may create systematic distortions in the perception of evidence, leading to possibilistic thinking in which future events are seen as probable that should be seen as merely possible[49].

The concept of threat could be different at different levels-personal, state and global level-, conditions and depending on different objects being threatened[50]. Poor people perceive the threat according their basic needs such as food, clothes and health, whereas rich people are differently perceiving the threat may as losing their assets, the main threat for states which may be losing of authority (power). Finally, states at global level have their ways to perceive threat since their own security priorities.[51]Not only states, other threats beyond the three given levels sited above, we discuss them in the coming pages.

1.2.2 Motives and forms of security threats in the Sahel region

Many interested in African affairs claim that the main African crises are characterized by borders conflicts that present states sovereignty, one of the many examples, the launched eternal conflict in Zaire in 1996, that ultimately escalated to two military alliance fronts; the first front included allies of the former Zaire of Angola, Namibia and Zimbabwe, where the second front gathered countries of Rwanda, Uganda and Burundi. This kind of conflict has been called Inter-state disputes (Sui generis)[52]

African states' relations have also know a transnational crises that led to number of disputes out off non-state that has called too common crises[53].

A- Common disputes

The most common dispute that has to be talked about here is the Tuareg crisis[54], and its influence on most African Sahel countries. Even though the Algerian diplomacy efforts of settlement and dispute resolution project with many African countries at the

[48] - Mieczyslaw Malec : Ibid, p.15.
[49] - Raymond Cohen, Ibid,p. 6.
[50] - Mieczyslaw Malec , Ibid,p.15.
[51] -Ibidem,p.16.

[53] - Luc Sinjoum, Sociologie des relation internationales Africaine (Paris: Karthala, 2002), p.94.
[54] - see chapter 2.

regional level to cope with Tuareg crisis in the Sahel region, the crisis has know gradually an escalated conflict in Mali.

Chadian and Sudanese relationships have also know a deep political dispute since Darfur crisis (especially in 2003). Many argues that the crisis between both states was due to an extension of internal state problems, that Sudan showed a goodwill in internal political settlement of Chadian military movements, and also by that to counter Libyan influence. What led finally to Ben Ghazi agreement in Libya in 1977. Theses common crises made a kind of snow ball because of many factors:

- Political instability
- Weak economy ability
- Fragility of the social structure
- Climate factors

B- Inter-crisis

We mean here the crises that have been launched between African states. For instance; the Libyan Chadian crisis in 1973 upon Zulu region what led Libya to escalate Chadian local problems by its interference in Chadian local affairs.
African inter-crises have shaped dramatic relationships between African states at different level, whether economic, politic or diplomatic relationships.

1.3 Concept of National security strategy

1.3.1 Concept of strategy:

Strategy concept comes from the Latin verb "Stratêgos[55]" that is divided to "Stratos" which means military, and to "agein" that in turn means "command or leader", while both of the two words stand for the meaning of "generalship" under the world "Stratêgos"[56], means being ready or maneuvering military troops to position before the acting of enemy [57]. In the Oxford English dictionary, the concept of strategy is also closely defined is military that as an art of commander-in-chief, the art of both protecting and directing[58].

From different author's vantage of views, the concept of strategy firstly was military defined. Clausewitz pointed out that strategy:" the art of the employment of battles as a means to gain the object of war", Sir Basil H. Liddell Hart in his turn used

[55] - Ramdane Mostefaoui : Le concept de stratégie, pdf, Université de Picarde,2013, P.1, see : http://www.foad-mooc.auf.org/IMG/pdf/m1.4_-_sequence_1.pdf.
[56] - Jean-Paul Charmay : Critique de la stratégie, Paris, éditions de l'Herne, 1990, P 15.
[57] -Fred Nickols: Strategy Definitions and Meanings, pdf,2016, p.1, see: http://www.nickols.us/strategy_definitions.pdf

to examine wars from the Greek era up to World War 2 inferred the same definition of Clausewitz to the concept, further, Basil H want ahead to acknowledge that the meaning lead to the political ends after achieving military strategy after he settled on a closely meaning of Moltke[59].

Even though, the concept of strategy has a military origins, it has been however used as a political concept transcended war and military fields in 6th century by Chinese Sun Tzu, who considered the concept touches to politics and governance. Onwards, many thinkers have used the same definition to build the concept of strategy like Emile Litrré and Alexander Rustow who have considered the word strategy as management of war. Liddel Hart in his turn, considers the concept as a political word since politicians are to manage and use wars and tactics to achieve political targets[60].

1.3.2 Concept of National security:

National security is one of the concepts that historically surfaced after the end of World War 2 by USA, it can be herby considered as modern phenomenon nowadays. Despite the flexibility, the complexity and even the long occurred debate of some scholars to come up with National Security concept's definition, there were always a common consensus upon the narrow core of its meaning as being secured.

From his side, Arnold Wolfers determined the meaning of:" National security…means the absence of threats to acquired values and subjectively, the absence of fear that such values will be attacked".[61]

If, then we consider the concept of National security chronologically in a harmonious statement, National security could be defined as:"...The ability of a nation to protect its internal values from external threats"[62].In defining National security from American perspective, Taylor pointed out:" Americans…regard national security as something having to do with the military defense of the country against a military enemy …An adequate national security policy must provide ample protection for the foregoing classes of valuables, wherever found, from dangers military and nonmilitary, foreign and domestic, utilizing for the purpose all appropriate forms of national power"[63]. Following on, the previous definition assess that fact that national security belongs to the stat's interest and to also its overview how to approach national security depending on internal and external factors.

Since there is not one universally definition of national security, the concept of national security is still remaining unclear and ambiguous; the variety of number of

---

[59] - Fred Nickols: Ibid, p.2.
Op.Cit, p.95.

[60] - منصور لخضاري:

[61] - Wolfers, Arnold, 1962: "National Security as an Ambiguous Symbol", in: Wolfers, Arnold (Ed.): *Discord and Collaboration. Essays on International Politics* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press),P.149.

[62] - Berkowiz, Morton (eds), American National Security, Free Press, New york.1965, P.5.

[63] - Taylor, Maxwell C, Precarious Security, Norton. New York, 1976, P-P.3-4.

given definitions in the post World War2, provides and depends on the different usages of the concept. National security as a concept having originated from simpler definition that basically explained the freedom starts from military threats and coercion to other forms of non-military security as suited circumstances of the given time.[64]

In considering the basic definition of national security as a struggle of state to overcome internal and external threats[65], additionally, national security is mainly the need to preserve the survival of state through the use of power projection, political power, economic power and diplomacy. After having been only focused on military power, nowadays national security encompasses an ample range of facets that impinge on economic security of the state as non-military and values that being adopted by national society.

Moreover, after the huge debatable discussion upon national security, the most holistic definition being considered what Burry Buzan has come up with; even he acknowledged that the concept of national security is "narrowly founded"[66]. We therefore settle on his definition to the concept of national security that is:" "Security is taken to be about the pursuit of freedom from threat and the ability of states and societies to maintain their independent identity and their functional integrity against forces of change, which they see as hostile. The bottom line of security is survival, but it also reasonably includes a substantial range of concerns about the conditions of existence. Quite where this range of concerns ceases to merit the urgency of the "security" label (which identifies threats as significant enough to warrant emergency action and exceptional measures including the use of force) and becomes part of everyday uncertainties of life is one of the difficulties of the concept"[67]

From Burry Buzan's general works, to redefine the concept of national security, his goal was within a broad framework of security to offer a new definition that lies on three levels of security[68] and five sectors, where, He referenced in his People, State and fear the Individuals, states and international systems as levels of security, whereas, we read from his work "New Patterns of Global Security in the Twenty-First Century" the five sectors of security; Political, Military, Economic, Societal, and Environmental.

Related to this, and according Marianne Stone, the previous given concepts could not address security issues separately, that all these concept are complicatedly linked to

---

[64] - Joseph J. Defining national security: the nonmilitary aspects, on : http://books.google.co.in/books?id=shxDOnuVcyYC&printsec=frontcover&hl=ru#v=onepage&q&f=true /-04.12.2013.

[65]-Prabhakaran.P. National security: imperatives and challenges. See:http://books.google.co.in/books?id=DMzcGe0-HQwC&printsec=frontcover&hl=ru#v=onepage&q&f=true

[66] - Barry Buzan : People, States and Fear: An Agenda For International Security Studies in the Post-Cold War Era. 2nd Edition . Harvester Wheatsheaf ,P.8.

[67] - BarryBuzan : New Patterns of Global Security in the Twenty-first Century, International Affairs, 67.3 (1991), p-p. 432-433.

[68] - we talk security level in the coming pages under: Levels of Security.

each other, however, she added that, in order to deal with and to understand the national security problem from Burry Buzan's vantage of view, and to figure out how sector concepts affect each other, it must be for security analyst detangle to understand each concept alone.[69]

1.3.3 Definition of National security strategy:

Building on the given definition of strategy and national security. national security strategy is the art of imagination[70], according James Goldgeier and Jeremi Suri, this concept gets its insight from the Prussian theorist Carl.v Clausewitz, within his book on War, who pointed out:" if the whole is to be vividly present to the mind, imprinted like a picture, like a map, upon the brain, without fading or blurring in detail, it can only be achieved by the mental gift that we call imagination …If imagination is entirely lacking it would be difficult to combine details into a clear, coherent image"[71].

National security strategy then, is an accurate planning to think and view how the World is working and what its nations able to achieve, in order to understand and forecast what should for states to plan, by forcing policy bureaucracy. It is somehow a space for leaders to use an "Inward-eye" to get their targets in chaos and dealing with threats[72] , by one hand using the "coup d'oeil[73] " that stands for imagination, and sufficient ambitions[74].

Many scholars have pointed out that " National security strategy" is not only state acting in terms of policies and strategies, but rather is an adopted approach state use to achieve its nation interests in international arena, within which state seeks to survival and stand against threats and challenges may state face.

Usually, talking about nation security opens the discussion to touch to security settings within which national security being and being defined through what these settings dictate.

---

[69] - Marianne Stone : Security according to Buzan; A comprehensive Security Analysis, Security Discussion paper series 1, Spring 2009, PDF, P.3, see the link; http://www.geest.msh paris.fr/ IMG/pdf/ Security_ for_ Buzan. mp3. pdf.

[70] - James Goldgeier and Jeremi Sur: Revitalizing the U.S. National Security Strategy, THE Washington Quarterly, pdf paper, p.1.

[71] - Carl von Clausewitz, On War, ed. and trans. Michael Howard and Peter Paret ; Quoted from: James Goldgeier and Jeremi Sur, Ibid, p.1.

[72] - Ibid, p.1.

[73] -It is a French word that means "Inward-eye".

[74] - Ibid,p-p.1-2.

CHAPTER 2: SECURITY THREATS IN THE SAHEL REGION.

2.1 Geo security in African Sahel region

2.1.1 Determine the geographic area of the African Sahel region:

From a linguistic explanation to the word Sahel, the concept comes from the Arabic word "Sahil.الساحل", that means Sea's 'Border', 'Shore'[75] or Margin'. The name of African Sahel or Desert Sahel is taken this concept since this region's environment being desert; however that had been not from the early of history. This area has known many wet phases, was populated and full of animals (Elephants, crocodiles and fish…), it also was full of Savanna's forests, brush, grasses, and stunted trees. At the start of the nineteen century[76] the region faced draught what lead it seeming as a desert ocean- that contains a sandy surface mixed with rocks which is closed to oceans' floors, this analogy indeed is not made of imagination, it however leads us to curiously figure out the geological history of the region.

Geologically, the African Sahel region is a part of African continent that began to form during the second geological time after it has being integrated with India, Australia, Arabian peninsula and Antarctica's continent in one block was in ancient time known 'Gondawa'[77]. Figure 01[78]

[75] - علي بن هادية وآخرون: القاموس الجديد للطلاب، الجزائر . المؤسسة الوطنية للكتاب، ط.7، 1971، ص.442.

[76] - Mourre Michel : Dictionnaire encyclopédique d'histoire, Paris, la Rousse- Bordas, 2eme édition, 1996, P.4917.

[77] - نحومان حسينة: مكافحة الإرهاب في منطقة الساحل الإفريقي، مذكرة لنيل شهادة الماجستير، جامعة الجزائر3، 2011-2012، ص.16.

[78] -See the Link : https://s-media-cache-ak0.pinimg.com/600x315/b9/bc/cd/b9bccd82e4d92d03f3626a7f7b9fdc03.jpg.



Figure 1: Gondawa.

During the third geological time, African continent passed through geological formations, which Tethys Sea retracted toward the North and its stretch shrunk to create the current Mediterranean Sea, what leads to geologically conclude that the African Sahel region was being the ancient Tethys Sea's benthos. When the Tethys shrunk the desert terrain, sand dunes and even natural resources as diamonds, coal and metals[79] appeared duo to these geological shifting and transformations in the ground layers.

Geographically, and specifically in middle age, Arab geographers determined Sahel region the area stretches between the Sahara and Sudan, however in twenty first century, the African Sahel is a geographical bar with 5400km extending from the Atlantic in the west to the Red sea, where the area covers parts of (Senegal, southern Mauritania, Mali, Burkina Faso, southern of Algeria, Niger, northern Nigeria, Chad, northern and southern Sudan, northern Ethiopia and Eretria). African Sahel occupies 3.053.200 km2 bordered by the great Sahara in the north and Savanna from the south.

African Sahel region nowadays, contains parts from African great Sahara that generally covers the southern of Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, Egypt, Niger, Mali, Libya, Chad, Sudan and Western Sahara, it is by that the region which stands for 9million km2 which in other literatures called as Sub-Saharan Africa

[79] - محمد خميس الزوكة: إفريقيا. دراسة في الجغرافيا الإقليمية،الإسكندرية، دار المعرفة الجامعية، 2008، ص.ص.35.36.

In general, it is very hard to whether understand or give specific boundaries to the Sahel region that may refer to the region's desert environment that makes fragile and moving borders because of desertification and sand instability. Figure 02[80]

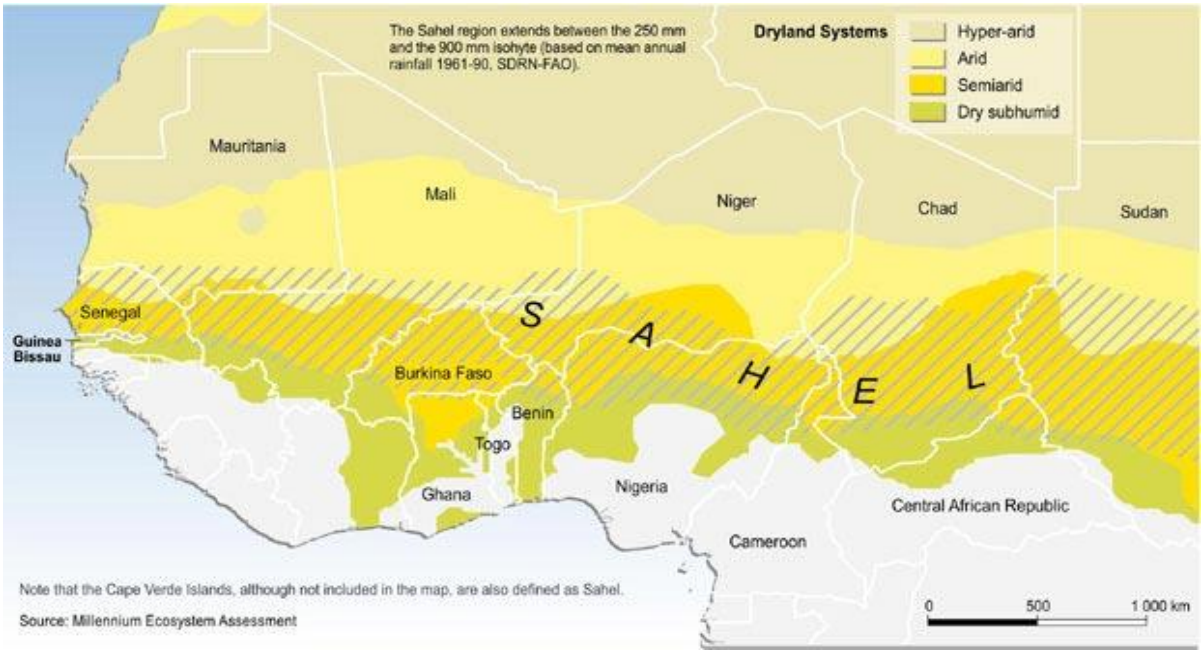


Figure 2: African Sahel region.

It is also quite possible to determine the African Sahel region from political and [81]economic views. CILLS" Comité Inter-Etat de lute contre la sécheresse au Sahel" has determined Sahel's boundaries by relying on environmental definition[82] where the area became including; Chad, Mali, Niger, Mauritania, Burkina Faso, Gambia and Comoros. Whereas the French definition appears through the countries which use the French Franc, on which has been created the west African economy and monetary union "UEMOA" that includes Burkina Faso, Benin, Cote d'Ivoire, Guinea-Bissau, Senegal and Togo. Furthermore, the West African sub-regional assembly "CEDEAO" further stretch to include all the fifteen "15" western African countries up to Nigeria. From the previous approaches, we can understand that there is a fundamental and central

[80] - Virginia Smith: The Sahel region; Transboundary Water Resources, February 7th, 2008, p.1.

[81] - Non governmental organisation created on 12 September 1973, it includes nine Sahelian countries, for further reading see the link; www.hubrual.org.

[82] - نحومان حسينة: Ibid, p.17.

countries in the Sahel region which are; Mauritania, Senegal, Niger, Mali, Chad and the region stretches to other countries in the western Africa or to south toward Nigeria[83].

Quite different, same argues that they can determine the Sahel region from security perspective, that on rely on ethnicity conflicts such as in the south of Sudan "Darfur", Chad arriving to domestic fragmentations and security threats in Niger, Mali and Mauritania[84].

2.1.2 Reality of the Sahel Region

The geography of the African Sahel region that presents a huge desert portion, with a limited number of populations, reflected and constituted a trait became a relevant to that part of Africa, also, it widely getting famous with illnesses, underdevelopment, poverty, epidemics and ignorance that African Sahel's countries share. However, one thing draws attention is the fact that is the parity in different life and its reflections on political life which mainly based on the spread of tribal life, where the loyalty being to the tribe rather than to the nation state. Especially, tribes widely spread in manner out of states such as Tuareg and Bambara, Sungai, Hausa[85] and …etc, this tribalism phenomenon played and stood against nation identity that badly affected the nation state(building), that means the absence of the nation identity's components have occurred since the loyalty remains to the tribe. Moreover, some of authors went to argue that tribalism loyalty stands for a fundamental cause threatening the region stability[86]. Some others referred the problem of tribalism to the colonization, from which African peoples went out with poverty and ignorance; they claimed that these people are not yet ready for receiving nation state "building" that "state"vis-à-vis failed to achieve development, remains people needs and it did not even succeed to build a nation for its interest[87].

In addition to the complex circumstance of geographical, social and political particularities that raise the importance of the African Sahel region to be considered as geopolitical and strategically area, there is another factor that over-raised its

---

[83]- عمورة اعمر: التهديدات الاتماثاية في منطقة الساحل الافريقي: مقاربة جيو امنية، مذكرة ماجيستير في العلوم السياسية و العلاقات الدولية، الجزائر2010-2011، ص- ص.15-16.

[84] -امحند برقوق: منطق الامننة في ساحل الاومات Mhand.yolasite.com . See: Berkouk-

[85] -عمار جفال: وجهة نظر حول طبيعة التهديدات على الحدود الجنوبية للجزائر، العالم الاستراتيجي، الجزائر. مركز الشعب، الدراسات الاستراتيجية، العدد. 9، نوفمبر 2008، ص.10.

[86] - Benoit Lefranc : «Dynamiques islamistes au Sahel francophone», (Mémoire de fin d'étude pour obtenir le Diplôme d'études approfondies, Institut Français de Géopolitique, Juin 2005), P 33.

[87] - Paul de Bruyne, Olivier Nkulu Kabamba : La gouvernance nationale et locale en Afrique Sub-Saharienne. Paris. L'Harmattan, 2001, p-p. 19- 30.

significance, is being a source of security threats with the clear and declared alliance between terrorism and organized crime, even though there are a substantial differences between the two;

F. Pura considers the motivation of the organized based on profit dimension whether being money or power or…etc, whereas terrorism is motivated by an ideology as a reference feeds its actions.

The Executive Director of the UN Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC), at a terrorism symposium in Vienna March 2011, Yury Fedotov confirmed and asserted on the growing nexus between terrorism and organized crime:" Today, the criminal market spans the planet, and in many instances criminal profits support terrorist groups. Globalization has turned out to be a double-edged sword. Open borders, open markets, and increased ease of travel and communication have benefited both terrorists and criminals"[88]. Further, the new cocaine delivery routes has been changed to include the Western Africa as a new transit hub towards Europe, here again, UNODC's report (05-10-2011, G8 Paris) pointed out that trafficking in cocaine cursedly affects the governments' stability, leads also to promote armed violence, local criminal networks[89], and even trafficking being used and traded in, by terrorists in the Sahel region[90].

The only north western part of the African Sahel region remains stable portion within Algeria shares border of 2795 km what stands for 44% of the total Algerian land border(without Libya that Algeria shares982 km with, since this border not being a part of the Sahel region). Even though this instability that mostly characterizes the general Sahel's image, and presents many aspects, that are shown in social fragmentation, political weakness and tribalism, it could not however stand against the attracted competing great powers to extend their influence , because of what the African Sahel presents as a strategic corridor connects and approximates the pacific ocean to the atlas one, in addition to what this area contains of energy reserves and nature resources[91].

---

[88] - UN news Center, see: http://www.un.org/apps/news/story.asp?NewsID=37780#.WSqdlPlTLIU.

[89] - UNODC: see; https://www.unodc.org/unodc/en/about-unodc/speeches/2011/May/2011-05-10-g8-english.html

[90] - منصور لخضاري: استراتيجية الامن الوطني في الجزائر2006-2011، أطروحة لنيل شهادة الدكتوراه ، جامعة الجزائر 2013، ص.168.

[91] - Ibid, p.169.

2.2 Analogue threats in the Sahel region and the Saharan Africa

State building crisis in the African Sahel region, remains a fundamental issue which African Sahel countries still suffer from; The historical tributaries being incarnated by many problems could be considered as causes and results at the same time; The problem of geographical boundaries inherited from colonial periods, also the political links that still connect some African regimes to their old metropoles, the dualism of militarization and democratization (the relationship between military and political Institutions and the phenomenon of democratic transformation), likewise the developmental disability and finally the problem of civil wars and rebel movements that being mostly linked and connected to ethnic problems. All these given points or security threats written above, mostly reflect the fact of the state in Africa generally, and in the Sahel specifically, as well as, the direct and indirect military confrontations that introduced African Sahel's states in military crushes as a result of state building crisis.

2.2.1 Weak State in the African Sahel region

Different literature on whether states being failed or fragile, are quite common in determining the core of the sense, moreover, the most written literature on Africa is quite agreed the fact that failed states" collapse of state"[92] implies political institutions and weak civil society…, and these states are the main causes that lead African Sahel region to being at the current image. Thus, before touching to the states in Africa, it is more important to come up with the definition of weak state in this continent.

In the context of Africa, Paul D. Williams argues that dealing with the concept of weak state in Africa open mainly the discussion about the inter-relationship between political control, and institution building as a patterns of authority[93], further, others claim that the failure of state in Africa is based on two main sense, the failure of control and the fail of promoting human flourishing[94].

---

[92] - Thomas Dempsey: Counterterrorism in African failed states: Challenges and potential solutions,1961, pdf, p.3, see: https://ssi.armywarcollege.edu/pdffiles/PUB649.pdf.

[93] - Paul D. Williams : State failure in Africa: causes, consequences and responses, pdf,p.1, see: https://blackboard.angelo.edu/bbcswebdav/institution/LFA/CSS/Course%20Material/CCSS2323/Readings/STATE_FAILURE_IN_AFRICA__CAUSES__CONSEQUENCES_AND.pdf

[94] - Dorff, Robert H. 'Failed States After 9/11: What did we know and what have we learned?' in International Studies Perspectives, Vol. 6, No. 1, pp. 20–34. Oxford, 2005. Quoted from PaulD. Williams, Ibid, p.1.

Failure to control is taken as inability of states' institutions to process and to control actors within their territories, and their peripheral regions from out-groups. However, what we have to highlight here is that, from geographical extent, that does not mean for all regions have to be occupied by out-groups" Ungoverned spaces"[95] , it is however might be for states to succeed in controlling some of their territories[96]. Following, weak state in terms of weakness to control parts of its territory is quasi spread in Africa, specifically in The Sahel's countries; Sudan for instance, it is one of the calcified weak states in Africa, however it keeps controlling its territory, whereas it failed to exert large control with a huge portions, what could ultimately wreak havoc in this country[97].

Moreover, some analysts argue that, to measure as states as failed, they suggest the weak states' activeness in terms of their authority domination, that is to say different authority whether being part or an organ of the official government dominates the local governance, and acting as a significant issue, may could be a militia, a clan, an extended family, insurgency movement, an insurgency, guerilla movement, international peace operation, a spiritual leader or non-governmental organization…, in this case, Somalia is a good example to be shown as a failed state in terms of given previous aspects above. Despite the fact that some Somalia's zones enjoy somehow high level of peace, however the collapse of the central state authority happened in other zones in the country like; Bay and Bakool regions and Banaadir Regional Authority[98].

In addition to failure to control, failure of human flourishing is the second used sense to determine failed state; it is then the weakness or the failure of state to provide public goods equally to its entire population" could be economically"[99] that could be because of the lack of political will or also the lack of state's capacity. States are responsible to provide what had been articulated as fundamental and basic rights to

---

[95] - See ; Current and Projected National Security Threats to the United States, Vice Adm. Lowell E. Jacoby, US Navy, Director, Defense Intelligence Agency. Statement For the Record Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, 2004. http://www.dia. mil/public affairs/Testimonies/statement12.html.

[96] -Paul D. Williams; Ibid, p.1.

[97] - Ibid.

[98] - Paul D. Williams : State failure in Africa, Ibid,p.1.

[99] - Robin Dorff : Responding to the Failed State: The Need for Strategy, Small Wars and Insurgencies, Vol. 10, No. 3, 1999, ppp.63.

their citizens after a number of debates within international relations dating back to 16th century starting with Jean Boding.

Recently in 2005, African countries agreed along with the rest of UN's countries to take responsibility as it defined in the document of the World Summit Outcome that; "'each individual State has the responsibility to protect its populations from genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing and crimes against humanity. This responsibility entails the prevention of such crimes, including their incitement, through appropriate and necessary means. We accept that responsibility and will act in accordance with it."Otherwise, crimes, war happen, it can be then said states to have failed to take their responsibility toward their citizens.

Many scholars consider that African countries are still mired in the early level and stage of state formation comparing the European states viewed in longue durée, whether in terms of state building or state borders that marked in Europe with reference to neighborhood. Whereas, in Africa state borders were marked by European in Berlin conference 1984-1985, what indeed lead to confrontation between states in the continent, moreover, from practical African daily existence, individuals are belonging to the same tribal or ethnic group while they are divided within states borders.

Coming back to causes that stand behind state fragility or failure, Africa generally and Sahel region specifically is still bearing multiple problems that caused its countries to failure. Here again, our focus is mainly on what has been considered as a fundamental causes that initially related to state failure by one hand, and affiliated problems to African Sahel region by another hand. Considering that, even some specialists argued additionally to what we have pointed out, that there are numerous causes lead states to fail in Africa for instance; Crudely referred that to bad leaders, bad neighbors ,predatory actors 'spoilers', bad environments, and bad economic policy[100].

a- Ethnic Problems

Many scholars referred ethnic problems to states' development; they then argued that the development in one state is a precondition for maintaining peace inter-ethnic relations, and it is the real cause of conflict. Deutsch and Huntington claimed that economic development strengthens and nurtures the harmony of politics, generates the

[100] - paul D. Williams : Ibid, p.3.

condition for ethnic groups to decreases the impact of insular ethnic attachments[101] , moreover, other argued that in addition to economic development, they added that modernization as well increases the economy growth that however has to be sufficient when it equally distributed within hegemonic political projects [102].

While, one of the African population, health and environment report, stressed on more details that stand behind the conflict, even more, it demonstrated climate problems that lead to conflict in western Africa, this report specifically hypothesizes that drought is one of the cited and even the observed cause that nurture conflict in general in the previous cited part above of African Sahel region. Indeed, not only drought nor climate problems are the main causes, the cited report counts and recognizes other causes like economic and political factors.

Building on what has been said previously, and in the context of ethnic conflicts. Both of failed or weak state states and ethnic conflict as one of the seen aspects in Africa, are mutually attached, where the state could be a cause of creating such kind of conflicts between ethnic groups because of the state inability to manage nor to provide what the society needs to enhance its individuals at the economic level, and the environmental construction could as well being a cause to launch and feed these conflicts since most of the society based on farming, what leads consequently individuals seek to find fertile farming fields to cultivate.

What must be pointed out here is that, the aspect of conflicts between ethnic groups in Africa is the phenomenon that strongly became a cited point to analyze failed states (or weak state) in the Sahel region specifically, where the state is more considered weak or failed to overcome and manage what weakens its institutions. Nigeria, Sudano-Sahelian region and other countries in the western part of the Sahel are suffering from poor rainfall, growth population with more land being cultivated but less is available for pasture.

Further, multiple of causes are indeed counted in spanning widely ethnic conflicts in Sahel region, political, religious and access to nature recourses. Religion conflict, rarely becoming ethnical, whereas is largely being between Christians and Muslims.

---

[101] - Rama Venkatasawmy : Ethnic Conflict in Africa: A Short Critical Discussion,pdf, p.30, see: https://www2.hu-berlin.de/transcience/Vol6_No2_26_37.pdf .

[102] - Sriskandarajah, D: Development, Inequality and Ethnic Accommodation;Clues from Malaysia, Oxford Development Studies, Mauritius and Trinidad and Tobago, , vol.33, no.1,p-p.63-67.

Access to natural resources tends to be a completion between sedentary farmers, livelihood groups and principally pastoralists.

To conclude what we have pointed out above, even multiple causes being behind the conflict between ethnic groups in African Sahel region, the wide spread of this phenomenon became one of the significant issues in the region, that by one hand, the consequently losses cost states to bear security burdens which could weaken its economy and financial budge, that could being used to overcome and peace make within the fragmented society instead of working on states development, By another hand and as an inevitable consequence, the long of conflicts occurrence effects and indeed leads states generally to fail, whereas, we have to recognize the fact that state fragility or failure in turn causes somehow multiple crises when it is incapable to mainly provide the society needs at all levels, and specifically the economic one that remains critical in the Sahel region.

b- Identity problems

In Africa, not less than other countries suffering from identity problems over the world, the idea upon identity crisis in the region opened the gap to many societal problems that lead to political chaos, what lead hugely observers and scholars as well to depict Africa as an arena wherein identity crisis sees its ferocious image at high level.

Despite the fact that, there is no common sense from the wide given definitions to Identity concept, starting from Erikson arriving to specialists nowadays, the appropriate basic definition that we deal with and settle on according the context of Africa is the Ubuntu philosophy which has built on ZULU maxim, that briefly being somehow consistent to Westerns definitions. Zulu quotation argues that identity is" a person is a person through other persons[103]". Whereas, the cited identity we mean here is the national identity since we are dealing with states to analyze one of the aspects evolved from and into weak states in the Sahel region, following, it is briefly argued that national identity is the recognition of "they" with "we", as social construction[104] within identity of individuals being defined and wherein they feel and share same common identifications and values as; flag, national history, language and …etc, with the

[103] - Augustine Shutte, Philosophy for Africa , Rondebosch, UCT Press, South Africa:, 1993,p.46.
[104] - Roosevelt O. Idehen : Identity crisis, State vulnerability and ungoverned space in the Sahel region of Africa: implications for Nigeria national security, IOSR Journal Of Humanities And Social Science , pdf, (IOSR-JHSS) Volume 21, Issue 9, Ver. 1 (Sep. 2016) PP 01-08, p.04, see: http://www.iosrjournals.org/iosr-jhss/papers/Vol.%2021%20Issue9/Version-1/A2109010108.pdf

emotional feeling individuals have with the cited values, such "as a sense of belonging, or emotional attachment toward one's nation"[105]. Roosevelt Idehen claim that, national identity requires the recognition of the two, in-group and out-group in common communalities as common destiny and common descent[106], it is therefore the feeling of individual(s) towards other citizens and positive emotions to one's nation.

Coming back to the identity crisis in Africa, the identity fragmentation in one society within state has been occurred with the incursion of colonial into African social construction, in which the common shared values and identifications being divided and destabilized between two created Civic and Primordial publics by colonialists, what lead ultimately a part of the society enjoying the sympathy of their primordial identifications. From Roosevelt's view the aspect of two publics is a dilemma that lead North Eastern Nigeria's indigenous to compromise with terrorist groups that effected and pushed the region to the current gap[107]. Not only terrorism, another subversive aspect occurred consequently as an expression in ethnic violence or regions identification, this identification separates in-group from the general group that gradually leads to the feeling of alienation from state, and as consequence the state's areas become vulnerable to insurgency or high social tension[108].

Identity crisis or national integrity problem, is one of the counted aspects that resulted from political systems failure in building a nation state. Mauritania as one of other countries over the Sahel region, still suffering from identity problems, it (Mauritania) is known by its political crisis that has been based on identity problem, where the individual still feeling that he belongs to tribe, ethnic group or to sect. this explains somehow such peoples in Africa are not ready to build a nation that includes all diversities with same values and state's principles. And indeed, that what still occurs the problem of identity and nation in the most of Africa[109].

c- Fragility of political system

In addition to what has been written above, some studies counted a number of causes that considered as domestic crises. Even they went further to assert on these

[105] - Ibid, p.04.
[106] - Ibid.
[107] - Ibid.
[108] - Roosevelt O. Idehen : Ibid, p.04.
[109] - For further reading see :
محمد سعيد بن أحمدو: موريتانيا بين الانتماء العربي و التوجه الإفريقي. دراسة في إشكالية الهوية السياسية، مركز دراسات الوحدة العربية، بيروت، ط1. 2003، ص 12.

causes to classify them as aspects obstruct and introduce the crisis of state building, indeed, the following points are standing not only for disruptive causes but also we can consider them as a result of this kind of fragile states:

* Crisis of Nation-state building.
* Crisis of political pluralism.
* Crisis of civil military relations.
* Crisis of economic achievement.
* Crisis of political legitimacy[110].

Under these causes, we have previously spoken about the crisis of national building under" the reality of the Sahel region", as we have seen the crisis of economic achievement that has been one of the factors we used to determine the meaning of state fragility.

Tackling with the previous cited listed crisis in the context of Africa, open the gap to settle generally on what Jean-Paul Azam, claimed, that, what happened in one country affects other neighbor countries, he argued that the circumstance in Mauritania(Military coup in 2008) affected the countries that being around-Niger, Mali, Algeria and Chad- since these countries are new formed states and due to number of reasons; historical political links, geographical proximity and even the social similarity that all states share[111].Within this situation, African countries still suffering from institutional, political, legitimate and even civil problems; where the huge quest comes to mind and assert on what the reality of African state is, in the face of increasing possibilities towards state failure and the image of the internal opposition of the political system[112]- that lead to waves of severe political violence-.

Here again, and in the context of Africa, Crisis of political legitimacy has been introduced at two levels; 1- Political legitimacy crisis and 2- international legitimacy crisis.

- أبصير احمد طالب: المشكلة الامنية في منطقة الساحل الافريقي، مذكرة لنيل شهادة الماجيستير،جامعة الجزائر 2009-2010، ص.19.[110]

[111] - Jean-Paul Azam, and al : Conflict and the Growth in Africa , Paris. Development Centre Studies, 1999, p.20.

[112] - عز الدين شكري : أزمة الدولة في إفريقيا **السياسة الدولية**، ع 110 .أكتوبر1992 ، ص-ص.50-65.

1- Political legitimacy crisis:

In his book: "Political legitimacy and the exercise of power in Sudan[113]". M.B, Hammed argued that Political legitimacy crisis is about state-building issues that per se tackles with social transformation problems, economic development and even democracy issues. From African political fact, we clearly observe authoritarian regimes that lack political legitimacy and more than that some of these regimes led to critical and severe political crisis"Mali, Sudan, Chad …etc"; wherein there is a loss of ability to communicate between people and politics, security problems with the inability to reach political, economic and social problems[114]. The political legitimacy crisis here means "changing the nature of the supreme authority that political commitment owes[115]", to sum, we conclude four "4" interconnected factors that: Controversy over power, struggle for power, loss of confidence in political leadership and finally the absence of political upbringing.

2- International legitimacy crisis:

As an outcome of the world war 2 , and as a result of the political legitimacy crisis, many European countries and the USA started intervening in African countries' domestic policies[116].

2.2.2 Tuareg crisis as a model of state weakness in the Sahel region:

Oftentimes, in many literature observers and followers to Tuareg question in the Sahel region, affiliate the Quest of this group to Mali's crisis 1963[117]. The name of Touereg is the plural of "Tergi" in the most spoken dialects in the both Northern and -sub-Saharan Africa; however, Lahcen Al-abssi argued that Tuareg is the synonym of Amazigh which means free men[118].

---

[113] - محمد بشير حامد: الشرعية السياسية وممارسة السلطة " دراسة في التجربة السودانية المعاصرة"، **المستقب ل العربي** ، ع.94، ديسمبر 1986، ص-ص. 36-45.

[114] - Michael Bratton and Nicolas Van De Walle: Democratic Experiments in Africa, Cambridge University Press , 1997, p.p.98.99.

[115] - أبصير احمد طالب:
Op.cit., p.20

[116] - عز الدين شكري : Op.cit, p-
p.36-46.

[117] - الحافظ النويني: أزمة الدولة ما بعد الاستعمار في أفريقيا: حالة الدولة الفاشلة (نموذج مالي).pdf,p.25.
See a PDF paper on the link :
http://www.caus.org.lb/PDF/EmagazineArticles/mustaqbal_422_alhafaz_alnwiny.pdf

[118] - حلسن العسبي: ما الذي يحدث باحلدود اجلنوبية للجزائر؟ يوم تستفيق »دولة« الطوارق بالمغرب العربي،مجلة الاتحاد، 24-25 مارس 2012، العدد 10.047 .

The different Tuareg rebellions from 1960 up to 1990[119] started with series of attacks to challenge the marginalization of Malian state authority to both Arabs and Tuareg nomadic people living in the north of the country, these waves of attacks focused on targeting military and armed forces. Malian regimes, with Modibo Keita's government (1962-64) in several times used military repression to overcome rebellions, further , in 1990s General Moussa Traore[120] in his turn used to accuse Tuareg as an armed bandits and refused to negotiation with them[121], continuously, the second Malian republic therefore proceed with using repression as an important mean to overcome Tuareg rebellions.

Lotfi Sour argued that the concluded target for occurring this violence is the fact that Tuareg struggling for and seeking to achieve their autonomy or independency even they are minority in Mali, where they however form a majority in Kinda. It is claimed that the political conflicts in Mali gets is transnational character because the distribution of 1.5 million of Tuareg in some sub-Saharan countries; Niger 850,000, Mali 550,000 and Algeria 50,000, with small numbers in Burkina, Libya and few tribes in Nigeria[122]. Figure03.

See the link : https://livreschauds.files.wordpress.com/2011/02/d985d982d8a7d984-d8add988d984d8a7d984d8b7d988d8a7d8b1d982-d984-d984d8add8b3d986-d8a7d984d8b9d8b3d8a8d98a.pdf

[119] - Dida BADI Ag Khammadine: Genèse et évolution du « problème touareg »,pdf, p.5, see the link : http://www.tombouctoumanuscripts.org/images/uploads/Dida.pdf.

[120] - G. Klute, (1995) : Hostilités et alliances. Archéologie de la dissidence des Touaregs au Mali Cahiers d'études
africaines. Vol. 35, N° 137, p-p. 55-71.

[121] - Kalilou Sidibé, ―Security Management in Northern Mali: Criminal Networks and Conflict Resolution
Mechanisms,‖ Research Report, UK. Institute of Development Studies , No.77, Vol. 2012), p.27

[122] - LOTFI SOUR: ANALYZING THE ALGERIAN APPROACH IN THE SAHELIAN CRISIS FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF THE COPENHAGEN SCHOOL: PDF copy, p.20. See: http://journal.ispri.ro/wp-content/uploads/2016/03/2-Lofti-Sour-11-27.pdf.

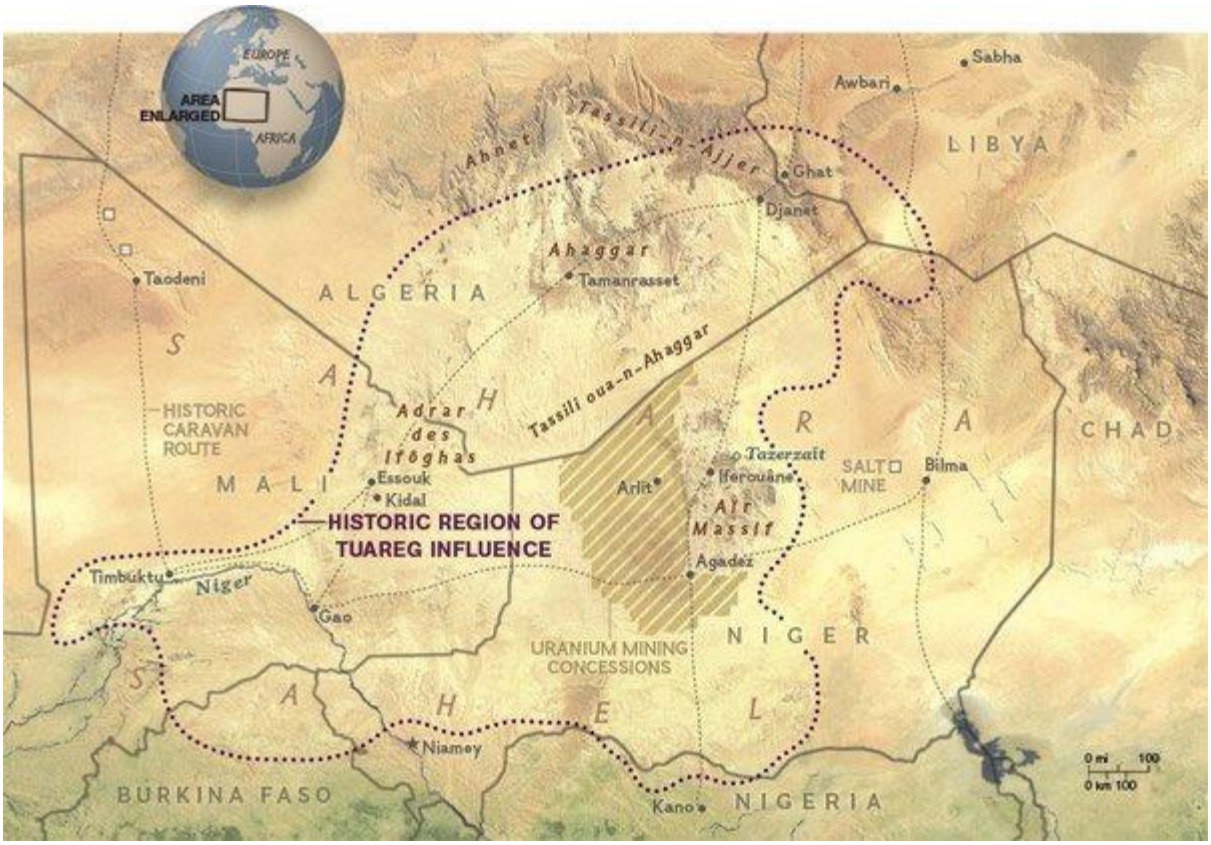


Figure 3[123]*: Distribution of Tuareg in Africa.*

It seems according to the number of literature we went through upon Tuareg's crisis that even many cited causes whether economic, Identical, feeling of no justice or others pushed to Tuargian rebellions, we believe however all mentioned factors have to be treated within the nature of state. Since Sahelian countries generally and specifically Mali as a core of the crisis in African post colonial, could not play the role of the state at different levels, what seemingly led the Tuareg asking for self determination by using identity pretext and other causes.

[123] - See : https://qph.ec.quoracdn.net/main-qimg-731f3cf4426eb30084c9a4a3b03a2be6-c.

2.3 Asymmetric security threats in the Sahel region :

We seek here to emphasize and to touch to economic crime, trading weapons, ,intercontinental terrorism and trans-boundary organized crimes' features in the African Sahel region within political context. These phenomena - possibly introduce somehow the state weakness[124] in Africa- are famous with the concept of Asymmetric conflicts, the forth"4th" generation wars according Clausewitz[125].

2.3.1 Problem of organized crime " Illegal emigration, trafficking in Human beings"

There is lots of definitions revolve around the concept of Organized Crime, that definitions differentiate from one state to another, further from region to region, for instance in the USA the F.B.I[126] during "Edgar Hoover" 's years considered American Mafia as a synonym of organized crime[127], In the same context of the USA, some added the "true" nature from which the phenomenon could be counted an organized crime by considering the insidious dynamic between group of individuals using ruthless techniques and methods amongst murder and corruption to achieve their target that based on getting illegal services, goods and increasing their profits[128].

It is even though known that states are different in qualifying and in using the concept according their policies, however the common definition is in considering organized crime as an organized group of individuals that corporate to achieve their targets illegally. From international perspective, some authors discussed the global

---

[124] - The writings upon the failed or weak state consider and estimate new conflicts as causes of failure, with Martin Van Creveld about the collapse of state in his famous book" The Transformation of War", and Calvi V. Holsti's writings about the concept of the third generation's wars and the appearance of privatization oof war " privatization de la guerre" , for further emphasis look at:
- Charles Philippe David et Jean-Jacques Roche, Théories de la sécurité internationale ,Paris. Montchrestien, 2002, p.120.
- Maurice Ronai : Failed States, Claire d'étude stratégiques ,n°20, 2eme trimestre 1997, www.cirpes.net/article-pdf.php3 ?id-article=83.
- Jean Jacques Roche, Théories des relations internationales, Paris.Montchrestien, 5eme ed ,2004, p.109.

[125] - Miquel : Le Brouillard de la crise ; Clausewitz et les conflits Asymétriques, www.college.interarmees.defense.gouv.fr/IMG/pdf/MIQUEL_CES_Hambourg_article_Tribune_v4.pdf, p-p.1-3.

[126] - F.B.I: Federal bureau of investigation

[127] - Michael D, Layman and Gray W. Potter : Understanding organized crime, published by prentice hall, 4th Ed, 2007, p-p.32-33. See: http://wps.pearsoncustom.com/wps/media/objects/6904/7070214/CRJ455_Ch01.pdf.

[128] - Jones and Bartlett: An introduction to organized crime, PDF copy, p-p.3-4. See: http://samples.jbpub.com/9781449648046/22572_CH01_V1.pdf

consensus features of organized crime and they considered; group of people using threats or violence with criminal planed activities to achieve illegal profits and opportunities that revolve around social, ethnic or business relationship, and using corruption to protect group's interest.

Is the same meaning, Interpol document does not shows up clearly about determining organized crime, however, more specifically the document comes up with numbers of features of crimes after having divided between traditional and actual crimes that have explicitly took a huge part with its features[129]. Even EU's definition touches to the meaning which still unclear under what is calls" a problematic definition"[130].

To sum, it is better to build on the previous given definitions, and to do so, we settle on **Brodeur Nicolas Queloz** definition to organized crime;" Organized crime is a group (could be with familial links) or criminal organizations seek to commit criminal activities whether being exclusively or as part of series of activities, some of which could be achieved in a legal framework, and characterized by a precise organization, professionalism and systematic…it is a real organization of criminology making, adopting a strategy based on international proliferation particularly with regard to activities in the areas of: Terrorism and intimidation, illegal work, illegal trade and…etc.[131]"

Historically, the first appearance of organized crime in Africa took place at the beginning of 1970s. In central Africa specifically, the features of smuggling were introduced throughout smuggling convoys (gold, silver, fabrics and even foodstuffs…).However, situations have gradually evolved over time to take other dimensions within political crises among most African states[132].

---

[129] - For further see: Interpol : Against organized crime; Interpol trafficking and counter fighting case book, 2014, WWW.INTERPOL.INT, pdf copy, p.14.

[130] - Library Briefing: The EU response to organised crime, Library of the European Parliament.6/09/2013, p.2.
See:http://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/bibliotheque/briefing/2013/130625/LDM_BRI(2013)130625_REV1_EN.pdf

[131] - Jean michel Dasque, Géopolitique du crime international. Paris: Ellipses édition marketing, 2008, p.11.

[132] - أبصير احمد طالب:
Op.Cit. p.73

And, within the African fragile geographical network, the beginning of the security problem started with the passage of individuals and goods freely a cross-border. Gradually, and with the weakness of state that being absent in its roles in Africa, smuggling has moved towards smuggling diamond, cacao, ivory, wood, arms and even oil across Ghana, Togo, Benin, Cote d'Ivoire, Nigeria, Niger and Burkina Faso[133] .

Illegal emigration:

Illegal immigration waves in Africa stand for two reasons:

1- **Economic reason**: That leads individuals to leave their countries in order to get a fortune from other countries, then they come back to their homeland for getting a final stability and openness to public life.

2- **Getting rid of the country**: that individuals reach to other countries in order to achieve a final stability without coming back to their mother countries. In both situations the emigrant being pushed by specific causes, whether political, economic, study and social or all together[134].

Following the previous , both of Economic and Getting rid of the country's reasons – In African Sahel region- are existing in immigration waves to Europe, rather, emigrants seek to achieve both of the two in the most of situations; That there are emigrants who do not mind and even do not want to come back to their countries that know waves of political violence and instability, whereas others of them have a desire, but they are not able to reach their countries again since they living in illegal status in countries they emigrated to. Here the pursuit of individual or group of immigration is due to achieve their total security (economic, humanitarian, social and cultural).

In fact, studying or analyzing illegal immigration waves in the African Sahel region leads us to two facts; Illegal internal immigration that continuously happening along the boundaries that still witnessing political disputes and tensions; for instance

[133] - أبصير احمد طالب:
Op.Cit. p.73

[134] - Maxime Tandonnet : Migrations ; La Nouvelle Vague Questions Contemporaines. Paris . L`Harmattan2003. p.6.

refugees along the borders of Chad, Central African republic and Sudan[135]. The second one towards Europe. Figure 04[136].



Figure 4 : Trans-Saharan immigration in within the Sahel region's countries and from the Sahel to Europe.

The reason why we put this map, is to know the real image of internal immigration movement size that occur in western African and the Sahel region that leads us to conclude the fact that these movement are basically resulted from political insecurity.

In his study, A.B. Taleb, argued that the political history of African states specially regions that witnessed a political dispute stand behind illegal and pushed up individuals to immigrate into other African states seeking for their total security wherein they can achieve their targets (economic and even cultural…), and as a result he went ahead to claim that emigrations redraw demographic, political and even economic features of some African countries amongst; Chad, Mali, Cote d'Ivoire, Cameron, Senegal…etc. This redrawing occurred in two forms137;

---

[135] - For further emphasis see : Les Dynamiques migratoires Ouest-Africaines vers l`Afrique du Nord . www.Atlas- Ouestafrique.org/spip.php?article105#nh1.

[136] - Migration policy institute : Migrations Transsahariennes vers l'Afrique du Nord et l'UE: Origines Historiques et Tendances Actuelles http://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/migrations-transsahariennes-vers-lafrique-du-nord-et-lue-origines-historiques-et-tendances

[137] - أبصير احمد طالب:
Op.Cit. p.75

1- This form per se includes two waves ; The first immigration towards Senegal, Cote d'Ivoire and Cameron, and the second wave was towards African Sahel region's countries up to 1980s: Mali, Guinea, Benin, Burkina Faso,

2- Occurred after 1980s towards African Sahel region; Mali, Niger and Guinea.

Both waves are linked in smuggling gold, silver, Ivory and even slavery138 trade. Gradually this smuggling evolved to become nowadays in arms and secret immigrant139.

In the early of 1990s, the destination of immigration Waves shifted from western African regions to the northern African countries that became shelters for many immigrant coming from; Mozambique, Congo, Zaire, Congo Brazzaville, Cameron, Angola, Mali, Cote d'Ivoire, Uganda, Tanzania and Malawi, because of disputes, poverty and conflicts[140]…etc, thus , they prefer to reach other country illegally in order to get work and economic conditions better than their counties.

The focus of African emigrants on Algeria and Morocco -in terms of internal emigration-, especially those coming from Cote d'Ivoire, and Sera lion were due to civil wars in their countries, and gradually Cote d'Ivoire became a passage for secret emigrants coming from Liberia, Burkina Faso, Guinea, Congo, Niger, Mali, Senegal and Mauritania to both Algeria and Morocco[141].

The second immigration image is that being also illegally towards Europe[142] (this sort of immigration has known number diverse immigration sorts[143]).

What really African Sahel region suffering from, it indeed reflects various and tight security threats' levels, that extends from individual and group up to the state; therefore threats being at multi-level[144].

---

[138] - Les Dynamiques migratoires Ouest-Africaines vers l`Afrique du Nord . Op. Cit.

[139] - أبصير احمد طالب:
Op.Cit. p.77.

[140] - Hilil Nicaise : Les Migrations, mythes, réalités et actualité," www.cerapinades. org/vendredis_du_cerap/les_migration__mythes2c_realites_et_actualite.pdf, pp. 2-7.

[141] - Luciel Barros et autres : L`Immigrations Irrégulière Subsaharienne a travers et vers le Maroc, search.ilo.org/public/english/protection/migrant/download/imp/imp54f.pdf, pp 1-144.

[142] - See: Honore Mimiche et autres :" La Femme des Migrations clandestines en Afrique Noire, www.mmsh.univaix. fr/lames/Papers/MimcheYambeneZoa.pdf.

[143] - For further emphases see : Cathrine Withol De Wenden: L'Union Européenne et les enjeux migratoires, www.fidh.org/IMG/pdf/Wihtol_UE_fr.pdf, p-p. 1-5.

Coming back to the role that northern Africa plays for emigrants, we find a state as much as Algeria stands for significant corridor to reach Europe, while Janet city in the south of Algeria receives secret emigrants coming from Niger, Mali, Burkina Faso, Togo and Ghana[145]. Then, they arrive to the Algerian coast where some of emigrants reach the city of Annaba to set sail toward Sardinia then Italy, while others go to Oran city that is keen to Spain cross the sea.

Within this illegal immigration process, many threats are posed a significant questions, not only in terms of being illegal, but it threats individuals and even the economy[146], since the illegal immigration being linked to interstate criminal organizations, here we list some threats that Algeria faces:

- Drug trafficking; one of the most ways illegal emigrants use in order to finance their journeys.
- Security threat: possibly for some terrorist and interstate criminal organizations use secret emigrants[147]
- Counterfeit currency and official documents, especially when emigrants take a long time in the transit country wherein they adopt a style of organized crime(prostitutions network, drugs, fraud…etc).
- Carrying diseases of throughout prostitution).
- Numbers of emigrants being dead in the long Saharan roads" By October 2015, more than 3,000 immigrants died in the Mediterranean sea[148])
- Illegal could cause diplomatic crises, and indeed that what happened between Morocco and Spain(Spain accused Morocco with inability to prevents illegal emigrants[149])

---

144 - Mehdi Lahlou : Les migrations irrégulières entre le Maghreb et l`Union Européenne.évolutions récentes, www.geographie.ens.fr/sanmarco/cours4/MigrationsIrreguliresMagUE.pdf, p-p.2-25.

145 - Najia Bouricha : L`Immigration trouve son passage par Djanet, Elwatan 1/12/2008 , www.elwatan.com/l-immigration-clandestine-trouve.

146 - Samuel Benshimon : Les dangers de l`immigration clandestine, www.sahelintelligence. com/fr/index.php?option=com_contenent&task=view&id=57&Itemid=31.

147 - Papa Demba Fall : Le Mbekkou ou Migration clandestine des Subsahariennes vers les Iles Canaries, www.cermid.ma/article-papademba-senegal.pdf, p- p. 2-15.

148 - UNODC(United Nation Office on Drugs and Crime: Sahel Programme 2013-2017" Strengthening the Sahel against Crime and Terrorism", Progress report January 2016, p.6, see: https://www.unodc.org/documents/westandcentralafrica/Sahel_Programme_Progress_Report_January_2016.pdf.

- Spread of bribery and corruption in security wires(Niger border police)

As a consequence, many European and northern African countries agreed on using economic approach to prevent illegal emigrants, since the economic factor is the cause that led emigrants not only from the Sahel region, but also from the whole of Africa to seek to leave their countries within illegal network.

Trafficking in Human beings:

Is not the case again here to rehears Trafficking in human beings' definitions, however, our definition to the concept relies on Palermo protocol's definition[150], even most of definitions are very keen to each other. "Economy of human trafficking" is another given name to trafficking in human beings that reflects the financial profits drive from this sort of organized crime. Many causes pushed up the spread of trafficking phenomenon in African societies; Poverty and economic[151] needs, Environmental impacts, state weakness that is absent to fight against this phenomenon and illegal emigration, also trouble and violence in Cote d'Ivoire, Mauritania, Liberia, Guinea, Sierra Leone, Burkina Faso and Senegal lead to both traffickers and victims especially to overcome their hunger and to cope with surging food prices…etc[152].

In the Sahel region, the phenomenon obviously clear through what happens in the western Africa, Amado Philip André estimates two hundred thousands"2000.00" children have been traded in Ghana, Togo, Benin, Burkina Faso, Gambia, Mali, Niger, Cote d'Ivoire, Guinea, Sierra Leone, Libya and Sudan[153].

Since the West Africa is known as the first country in trafficking persons, W.R Sawadogo added another cause additionally to what we have written above that the

---

[149] - Ali Bensaad, " Le Ténéré, ou les mirages d'une vie meilleure, voyage au bout de la peur avec les clandestins du Sahel, " Monde Diplomatique, septembre 2001, P. 16, 17.www.monde diplomatique.fr/2001/09/BENSAAD/15645.

[150] - It is a huge definition see: UNICEF. Innocenti Research Centre: Innocenti Insight TRAFFICKING IN HUMAN BEINGS, ESPECIALLY WOMEN AND CHILDREN, IN AFRICA, United Nations Children's Fund, Second Edition 2005,
p.2, link: https://www.unicef-irc.org/publications/pdf/trafficking-gb2ed-2005.pdf.

[151] - Wilfried Relwende Sawadogo: The Challenges of Transnational Human Trafficking in West Africa, African Studies Quarterly , Volume 13, Issues 1 and 2, Spring 2012, p.2, see: http://sites.clas.ufl.edu/africa-asq/files/Sawadogo-2012.pdf

[152] - Ibid.p.111.

[153] - Amado Philip de Andrés; West Africa under attack: Drugs, Organized Crime and Terrorism as the New Threats to global security, United Nation Office on Drugs and Crime, UNISCI Discussion Papers, no.016, January 2008, p-p.202-226.

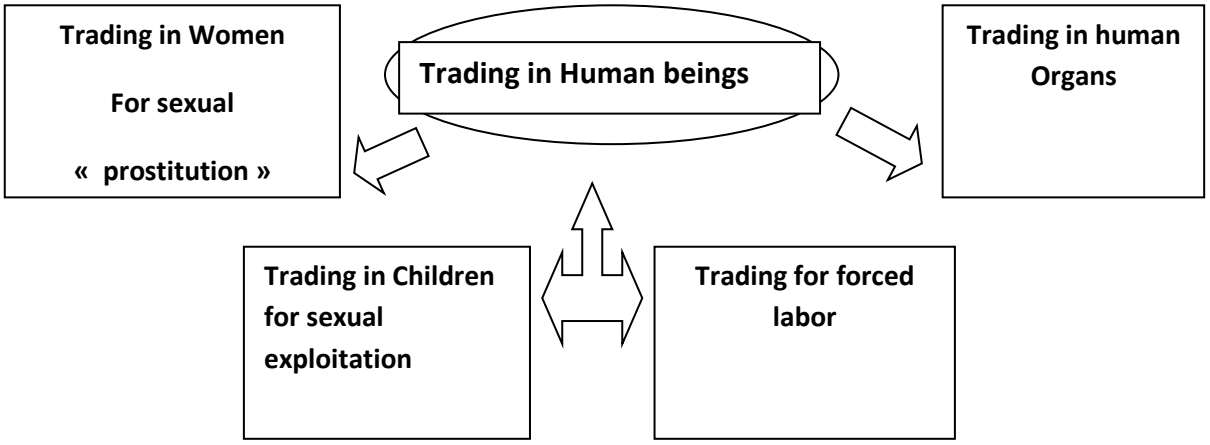
cultural environment itself fertilizes human smuggling's expansion[154](parents do not pay attention on their children whom their study takes a long way to school). Most of UNICEF reports assert on children smuggling[155], furthermore, these reports touched to many features of smuggling in children that being used for sexual exploitation and forced labor; Between 200.000 to 300.000 trafficked children in central and west of Africa. The survey of 2001 shows around 330.000 children were employed in Nigeria, Cote d'Ivoire and Cameron, out of 230.000 working in Cacao in Cote d'Ivoire, surprisingly, a huge number of used children in labor have no family connection to farming .Knowing that girls are more victims of trafficking than boys. This table introduces victims in three countries in 2003[156].

Gender / Country	Male		Female		Unknown: Gender And Age	Total of Victims
	Minor	Adult	Minor	Adult		
Togo	**02**	**/**	**17**	**20**	**6**	**45**
Nigeria	**03**	**01**	**16**	**10**	**/**	**30**
Benin	**85**	**37**	**112**	**65**	**18 victims**	**317**
					Total	**392**

Tableau 1 : Age and Gender in three countries[157].

Not only Central and West Africa, moreover, Sudan also has been famous in smuggling women (Ethiopians, and from Philippine)[158] and trading in children cross borders from Sudan to Uganda and republic Congo. The trading in human beings takes then this forms reasons:

[154] - Wilfried Relwende Sawadogo: Op.Cit, p.97.
[155] - Ibid.
[156] -Ibidem, P.97.
[157] - For further detailed insight see : Wilfried Relwende Sawago's study : Ibid.
[158] - Smuggling report of 2007 for Sudan see :
www.sudan.usembassy.gov/media/reports/2007tipreportsudanarabic.pdf.



2.3.2 Drug trafficking and arms smuggling in the Sahel region

Number of studies show that the West Africa and the Sahel region witness a huge and dangerous waves of drug trafficking and arms smuggling that spread to the east and to the south of Africa and threaten the security of its states.

Drug trafficking

Generally, the inability of African countries has shown by one hand states incapability to fight against organized crime, and their weak capabilities to stand against security threats by another hand[159]. That introduces a shortening of security whether between two states, regionally or even at international level, additionally, security threats that resulted from the lack of development, poverty and both-weak-political and economic performance of African states pushed up Africa toward security chaos.

Many observers argued that West Africa has become a major transit country and repackaging hub for drugs (heroin and Cocaine)[160]; even some writings were clearly asking for official intervention to prevent this phenomenon and denouncing the situation that ultimately has taken another dimension led to destabilization and murder[161]. In its turn, UNDOC pointed out that Africa witnesses waves of drug

[159] - Mpho Mashaba: Organized Crime and Corruption, Fighting the problem within the NEPAD framework**,** African Security, vol. 14, no. 4.2005, p-p.108-111.
[160] - Kwesi Aning and John Pokoo: Understanding the nature and threats of drug trafficking to national and regional security in West Africa, research paper2014 , pdf copy, p.1.
[161] - ماثيو جري:"الفساد و الفقر يحميان طريق الكوكايين السريع الخط المتصل من المخدرات من غرب إفريقيا إلى أوروبا:

trafficking, wherein traffickers taking advantage of governmental weak mechanisms to prevent them, using Africa as a transit (East, West and central Africa) to get drugs from Latin America[162] and Asia to European markets[163]. In this context, Ahmadou oueld Abdullah claimed that the Cartel Latin-American Cocaine seeks to transfer poor western African states to narcotics states (NARCO-ETATS)[164].

Even West Africa started becoming a narcotic country in 1990s, the expansion rapidly happened in 2000s[165] in response of the drug syndicates in Latin-America to European markets, and because of the robust U.S strategy against drug smuggling, Africa then stood for strategic choice for Latin smugglers, taking by that advantage of African criminal networks (Senegal, Ghana, Guinea-Bissau, Togo and Nigeria)[166], and weak political environment within traffickers found more opportunities. Consequently, this smuggling movements in Africa created a kind of instability and generated an increase in armed groups numbers operating in the Sahel region, this latter(Sahel region) has presented a big security problems(and still does) for Northern African countries.

In this circumstance, the number of threats Africa still facing, are consequently introduced as a linked and associated threats to the drug smuggling operations, more than that, it is argued that threats in American country have been shifted into Africa; in West Africa and towards its geographical extension to the north through Maghreb Countries, to the east through Chad and Egypt and to the south into South of Africa[167].

Sahel region, being also an appropriate and a fertile area for smugglers-, as we have pointed out previously-because; Sahel region countries bear different problems, poverty, weak institutions, corruption, political patronage …etc have been exploiting by transnational traffickers (criminal networks) in Africa, these networks are to transfer all kind of illegal commodities; light weapons, cigarettes, fake medicine, human organs, drugs, trafficking persons and arms. In addition, disputes and tensions between states in

---

See : www.aleat.com/2008/11/21/article_166352.html.

[162] - Xavier Raufer : Cocaïne ;L`Europe inondée, Une offensive mondiale des narcos, Cahiers de la sécurité
N°.5.juillet.septembre 2008, p-p.1-7.

[163] - Kwesi Aning and John Pokoo: Op.Cit, p.1.

[164] - بسمة عولمي: جريمة تبييض الأموال و خطر المخدرات على الاقتصاد و سبل مكافحتها، الشعب ع 14492 .فيفري2008 ، ص-ص.12-23.

[165] - Kwesi Aning and John Pokoo:Ibid.

[166] - أبصير احمد طالب: Op.Cit. p.94

[167] - أبصير احمد طالب: Op.Cit. p.94

the Sahel region and some states neglect to territories[168] open the door, and provide havens and opportunities for smugglers to use and cross national and international borders for their transnational activities.

In terms of trafficking roads in the Sahel region ; considering that not only one way traffickers importing heroin and Cocaine from Latin-America and Asia (outside), through coastal areas to the sub-Saharan Africa(Sahel) then commodities take delivery destinations towards Europe (France, Spain and Italy[169]) through Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia[170], however, traffickers conversely use African interstate smuggling; smugglers trafficking in Cannabis resin from Morocco[171], towards Egypt and Arabian peninsula, using by that smuggling routes throughout Algeria, Mali, Libya, Niger and Mauritania. In both sort of smuggling, gradually led terrorist groups in the Sahel region specifically building links with criminal organizations to finance their terrorist operations (the case of AQIM). Furthermore, AQIM over time getting a large amount of money due to ransoms and protecting smugglers. And within fragile political environment, kidnapping used to be a fundamental financial source strengthening AQIM's growth in the region. Numbers of arrested persons in 2006 and 2009 shows traffickers were smuggling drugs on behalf of al QAEDA[172].

In its turn, Algeria has been considered as one of significant smuggling roads; specifically it has taken traffickers' attention with its important strategic location (Transit corridors), whether in smuggling Cannabis resin from Morocco has been taking its destination through Algeria to Egypt and Arabian Peninsula, or for delivering drugs that come from the Sahel region towards Europe. Algeria then sounded alarm bells after having realized that drugs stand for security threats within its territories. Algerian interior minister's speech in G 8's Interior ministers' meeting in Paris 2001, clearly denounced and expressed Algeria's concern for large quantity of cannabis resin had found in its territories and he stated that Algeria holds an average of 64 tons of cannabis resin every year[173].

---

[168] - Kwesi Aning and John Pokoo:Ibid. p.2.

[169] - منصور لخضاري: Op.Cit, p.136.

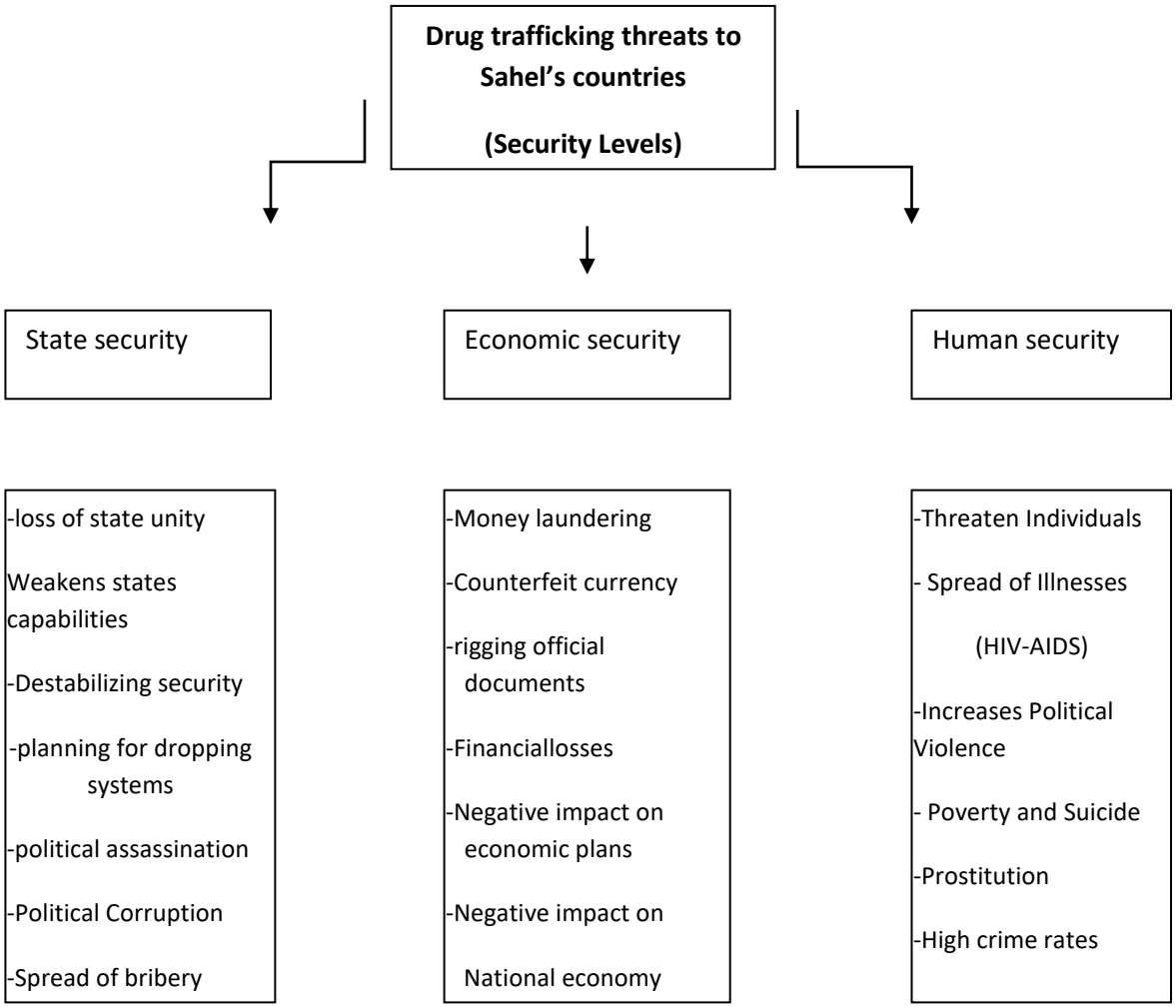
[170] - منصور لخضاري: Ibid, p.135.

[171] - Alain Labrousse ; Géopolitique des drogues, Paris. Presses Universitaires de France, 2004, p-p 35-36.

[172] - Kwesi Aning and John Pokoo:Ibid. p.2.6.

[173] - منصور لخضاري: Ibid, p-p.136-137.

Threats from drug smuggling



Arms smuggling

In addition to the previous cited threats we have pointed out, arms smuggling is one of the issues still threatening Africa's security. Not only trafficking in small arms and light weapons (African product) phenomenon reflects the current reality in the Sahel region, however, smugglers import other weapons from open regions to Sahel, exploiting in African political circumstances and free individual movements cross African countries' borders; from the Corn of Africa in the east to the west African countries towards Cote d'Ivoire and Serra Leon, then onwards Maghreb countries in the north of Africa.

Considering that, within African tribal, ethno-societal nature and some separatists movements, the Sahel region witnesses along with the Targui rebellions in the north of

Mali, Darfur problem in the south of Sudan and other political crises (Chad and Serra Leon and Congo) exacerbated and further complicated the security issues in the region. Furthermore, civil wars in turns led in proliferation of small weapons in addition to criminal organization and rebel movements, what ultimately resulted in political instability in number of African countries[174].

Many voices denounced the situation in the region at the beginning, and realized the impact of smuggled arms and weapons reaching the region (8 million firearm)[175], affects and create areas of conflicts[176] ,and causes security havoc at all level;

- Perpetuating conflicts, increase violence, contributing to the displacement of innocent people and encouraging crimes and terrorism.
- Spread violence culture; destabilize society by involving the community joining organized crime groups and terrorists.
- Led to negative effects on security and development.
- Threatens humanitarian law and human rights…etc[177].

Building on, smugglers in arms and weapons use three different roads:

1- From Niger through Mali towards Algeria or, from Niger directly to Libya and Algeria.
2- From Guinea through Liberia to Serra Leon.
3- From the Horn of Africa to Chad then to other places[178]. See

[174] - أبصير احمد طالب:
Op.Cit. p.105

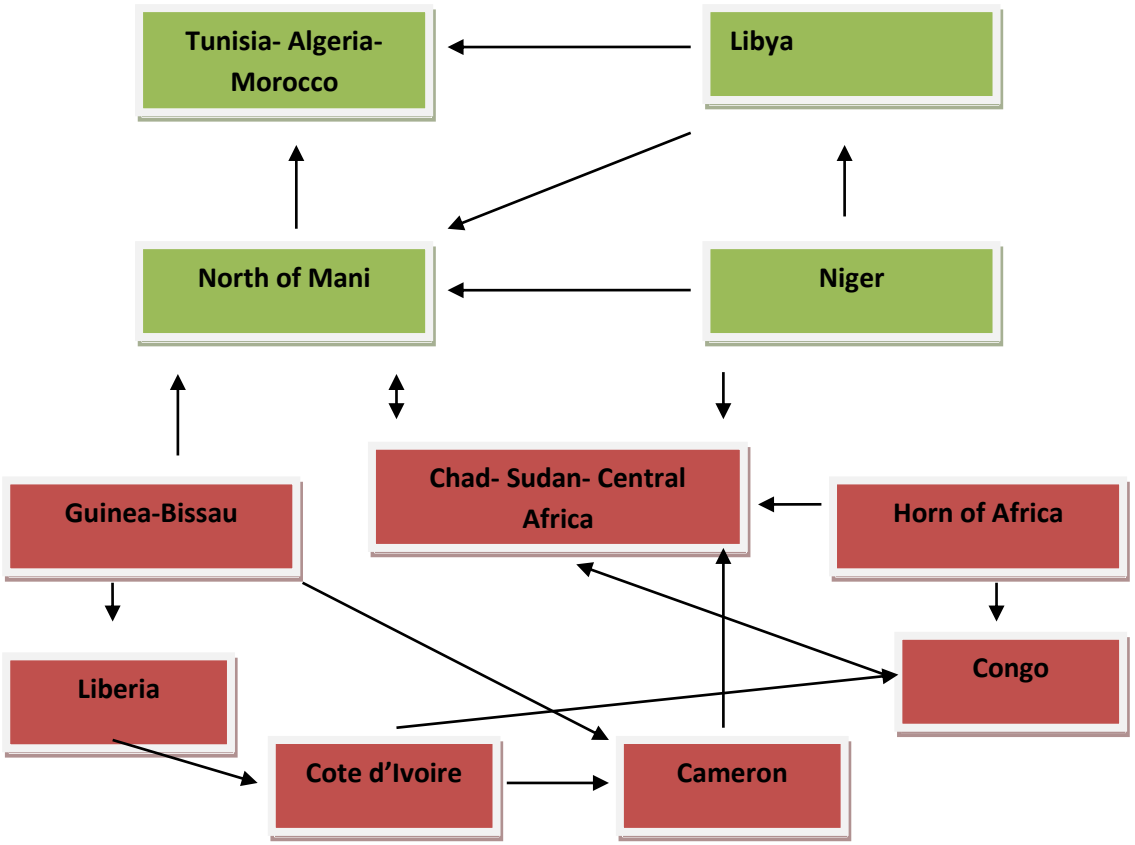
[175] - Mamadou Aliou Barry : Guerre et Trafics d`armes en Afrique. Approche Géostratégique .Paris : L`Harmattan, 2006, p.45.

[176] - Ibid, p.45.

[177] - أبصير احمد طالب:
Op.Cit. p-p.106-107

[178] - أبصير احمد طالب:
Ibid. p-p.106-107

Weapons smuggling routes



Smuggling towards African Sahel region countries.

.

Countries witnessed civil wars (bridge of smuggling+ Libya

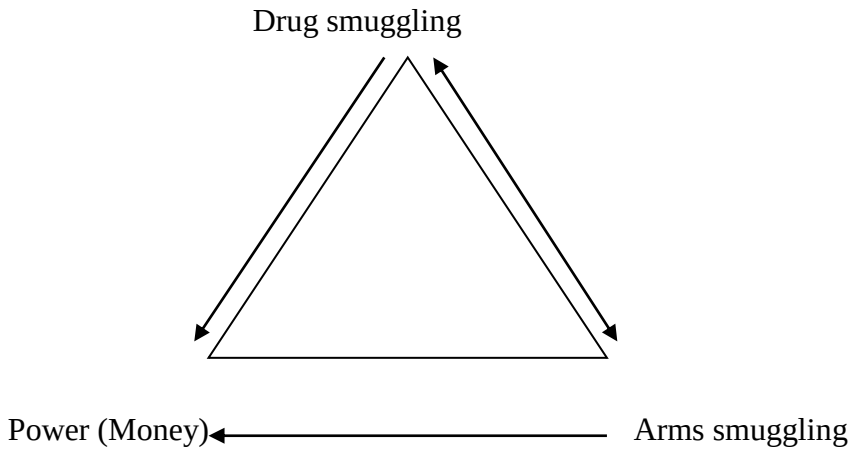
Some writings give a huge number of firearms that traffickers smuggle in, more than that, the link between weapons smuggling organizations and terrorist groups could be introduce in some arms purchases deals; the case of "Abderazak el para" who has bought an arsenal of 5 billion[179] Euro only from the Sahel region without importing arms from outside(Between Nigerian Gao Timbuktu and Malian Timbuktu)[180].

[179] - We have pointed out previously that terrorist groups use many ways to finance their operations and activities; kidnapping of prisoners…etc. Again, this mount of 5 billion has been a kind of ransom, after this terrorist group had been kidnapping 32 prisoners. See: De Andrés Amado Philip: West Africa under attack; Drugs, Organized Crime and Terrorism as the New Threats to global security, UNISCI Discussion Paper, n°.016, January 2008, p-p. 205-225.

[180] - Alexis Kalambry , " Bande Sahélienne et le trafic d`armes: Des Cadres Maliens Impliques?," www.malikounda.com/nouvelle_voir.php?idnouvelle=17489.

Both trading and smuggling in weapons stand for the same threats at different levels that we have seen with drug trafficking and organized crime, in addition to people militarization that a huge possibly leads to civil wars within ethnic and tribal differences, and political fragmentation at countries level in the Sahel region, considering the political history of these states have mostly know coups d'état, for instance the ECOWAS countries have known 37 military coups, whereas, indicators marked out 40% of small arms being in civilian hands[181].

On what has been pointed out previously; we can sum the triple links between arms smuggling, drug trafficking and power as a reason behind both smuggling -Drugs and arms-kinds seek to achieve:



Finally, the phenomenon of smuggling in arms and drugs in the African Sahel region, represents a significant security problem added to other threats that African states still facing in the Sahel region. What may call for other studies to figure out and analyze causes, rather, variables at different levels-political and security- to understand hidden backgrounds still stand behind the ongoing threats in Africa generally and in the Sahel specifically.

[181] - Francis Langumba Keili: Small arms and light weapons transfer in West Africa, Quoted from Absir Ahmed Taleb, Ibid, p.111.

2.3.3 Terrorism problem in the African Sahel region "Concept of terrorism, terrorism phenomenon, terrorists' groups".

The widely use of the world "terrorism" in our era, opens the gap to a huge complexity in understanding the specific meaning of the concept in particular study. That, many discussions still fluctuating in determining precise meaning; some scholars argue that the difficulty of coming up with an accurate meaning to the concept "terrorism" is due to not give up on both objectivity and subjectivity. In the same context, Pascal Boniface pointed out: "How do we know terrorism…briefly it can be said that terrorism expresses others … no one describes himself by such, whereas each one doing so against his adversaries."[182], also Michel Wieworka in his turn claims that:" in one word we summarize the definition of terrorism…often in the eyes of others, it could be said we are terrorists"[183].

Etymologically, the word terrorism goes back to the Indo-European word "TER" that expresses "tremble" in English, as it expresses "reaching the target"[184]. Whereas, the linguistic and the historic dimension dates back the word terrorism to French revolution(1789-1799); in academic French lexicon the concept express the horror system that used by Robert Pierre, as the same definition was pointed out (1974) in La Rousse to describe Graccgus Badoeuf's system[185].

From academic approach, and in Leiden university Jongman and Shmid used to study the concept by collecting 109 definitions to the concept from different specialists and researchers interested in terrorism phenomenon's field, to come up with a common definition being keen to the all collected meanings they had selected, they hypothesized according results they got 3 fundamental characteristics could be used to determine terrorism: violence, existence of terror intentionally and existence of political purpose[186].

---

[182] - Pascal Boniface : Vers la 4ème guerre mondiale ?,2 me édition, Paris. Armond Colin, 2005, P. 124.
[183] - Chrisyian Chocquet : Terrorisme et criminalité organisée., l'Harmattan.Paris 2003, P. 75.
[184] - Pierre Mannani : Les logiques du terrorisme, In press .Paris 2004, P. 49.
[185] - Chocquet, Op.cit. P 74.
[186] - For further informations see : Gérard Chaliand et Arnaud Blin : Histoire du terrorisme de l'Antiquité à
Al-Qaïda, nouvelle édition Bayard.Paris 2006, P. 26.

Algerian approach to terrorism is shown through the article 1 of the legislative decree N° 92.03 that:" Being considered sabotage or terrorist acts…any violation targeting state security, territory safety, and the normal function institutions' stability"[187]. However, Algerian official speech differentiating between terrorism and crime upon describing the word among politician and military who whereas use several names to describe actors that doing these terrorist activities by; terrorist, criminals, mercenaries…etc[188].

Terrorism phenomenon in the Sahel region, does not represent a threat for particular state or specific government, it however constitutes by that a security threats against countries in the sub-Saharan region. The security problem has appeared with Al Qaeda that has -grown in- exploited political, social and economic situations in the Sahel(which being a fertile ground for threats).

Many scholars considered that the economic factor has been for several time a cause- from which many regions suffering from-for security problems in Sudan (Darfur) and Tuareg crisis in the north of Mali. Additionally, the political systems representing a false democracy what led in many countries to political violence; Algeria 1991, Mauritania, Chad, Darfur crisis, Cote d'Ivoire, Guinea and the Horn of Africa. From the previous claim of economic and political circumstances, some argues that both none-democracy political system and bad economy(in terms of development) lead to terrorism, whereas none-democracy per se could directly conduct to terrorism since many countries are part of Sahel region have nature resources(Algeria, Libya and gulf of Guinea)[189].

State weakness at different levels, the absence of government in African Sahel region and the weak capabilities all draw a kind of fragile borders out off governments' control. This drove the region to be terrorist training camps in the region after the siege some countries had imposed on terrorism in Algeria and in other countries from Afghanistan and Pakistan, under the anti-terrorism policy that USA adopted. These

[187] - The democratic republic of Algeria : Penal code, order n° 95-11 issued date 25 February 1995 accomplishes the order 66-156, 2012. p.30. see: http://www.wipo.int/edocs/lexdocs/laws/ar/dz/dz027ar.pdf.
[188] - Lakhdar Benchiba, «Les mutations du terrorisme algérien». Politique étrangère, été, 2/2009, P 345.
[189] - The Cover letter signed by Bush for the National Security Strategy, quoted from A.A.Taleb: Ibid, p.118.

factors made terrorists searching for other new areas. To confirm, even many political voices deny the economic factor to being a cause of terrorism, frequently and more often G.W.Bush pointed out that not poverty conducts people to be killer or terrorists, but deprivation with weakness of institutions and corruption produce weak states that could be vulnerable to terrorists.[190]

Proliferation of weapons between conflicting parties whether being ethnic conflicts, terrorist groups or rebellion movements…etc is another cofactor led to free arms markets being generally used by terrorists to control of economic resources (Gold, diamond and even oil) in order to finance their activities. Finally some added Islamic character of the region as a cofactor; means that African Sahel region represents a largest Muslim community, and that created a focal point for spread crisis between Christian and Muslims(Horn of Africa). At the same context, many voices argued that Islamic countries and adherents of Islam are sponsor of terrorism (When Sudan received Bin Laden).[191]

Terrorism phenomenon in the Sahel region getting a broad complexity due to the wide spread of extremist groups linked under the same ideology in the post September 2001; this complexity has been shown through violent attacks' escalation and militant groups with transnational expanding in Libya, Somalia and Mali…etc, further, the building link with al-Qaida such as al-Shabaab, Boko Haram, Ansar al-Sharia, Ansar Dine, al-Mourabitoune, (MJUAO) Movement for Oneness and Jihad in West Africa, AQIM (al-Qaida in the Islamic Maghreb) and MLNA(National Movement for the Liberation of Azawad)[192].

Other, factor complicates strategic of defeating terrorism is the fact that is the rise of ISIS (Islamic State, also known as ISIL and DAESH), seek to establish a "caliphate" in Africa, wherein number of extremist groups had and built links to involve terrorist network. About 235 incidents have been occurred since 2001 up to 2016, most of them

---

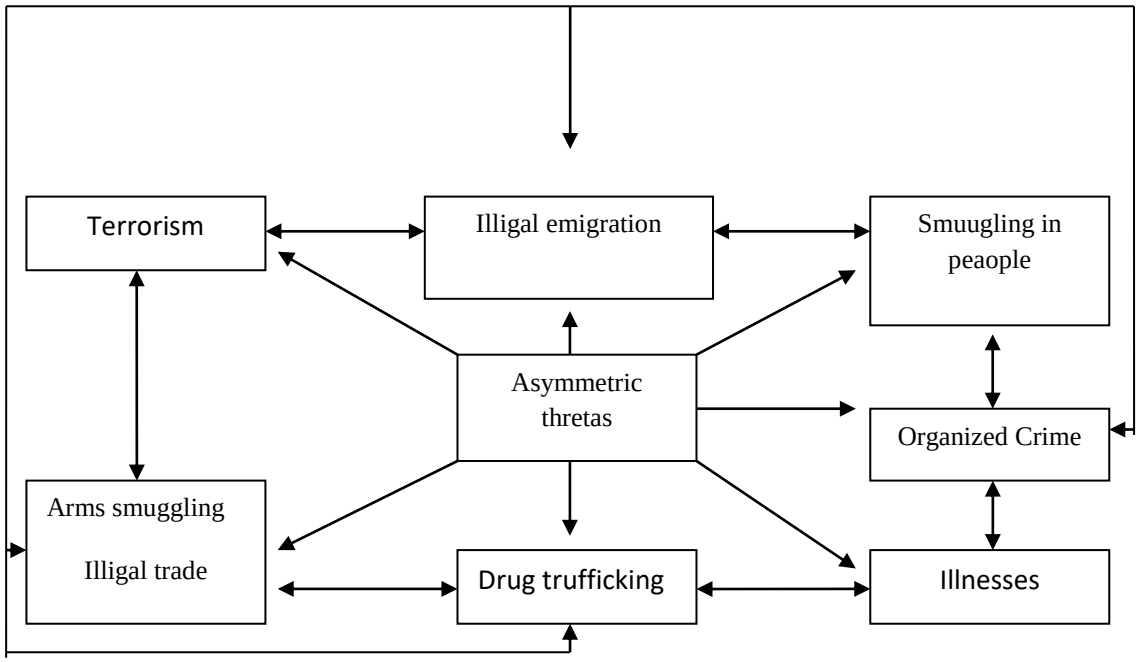
[190] -Ibid.

[191] - We pointed out this point not to express our conviction, however, it needs more emphases since most victims in these areas are most Muslims. For the reference see:
إفريقيا بعد 11 سبتمبر استراتيجيات الانخراط و التعاون، ترجمة كاظم هاشم نعمة، طرابلس:ليبيا، أكاديمية الدراسات العليا،ط.2005، ص.09.

[192] - Yonah Alexander: Terrorism in North Africa and the Sahel in 2016, March 2017.USA, P.6.

taken place in Libya, Algeria(13 incidents), Mali and Tunisia. As, other states faced a mass of attacks across Africa in Somalia, Nigeria and in the central of Africa[193].

In sum, terrorism phenomenon stands for a linked social, radical and political actors support each other under a “holly alliance” relying on trafficking, smuggling and even kidnapping people to finance their activities. Where, States in the Arab Maghreb are not immune to threats occurring in countries neighbors, special the new trend of trans-boundary that became invisible; since it not being localized in specific areas what led to a huge security challenges for countries as Niger and Mali and relatively for Algeria, Considering further factors had been cited previously, all together draw a map terrorists has chosen for their actions. Finally we resume asymmetric threats we have deal with in this chapter:



[193] - Ibid,p-p. 6-15.

CHAPTER 3: ALGERIAN NATIONAL STRATEGY IN THE SAHEL REGION

3.1 Geostrategic stakes for African Sahel region

3.1.1 The strategic importance of the Sahel region over Algeria

The importance of the Sahel region under this title is meant the Algerian interest, and a given consideration upon and to the Sub-Saharan Africa, It (Sahel) by that represents both an advanced security belt and strategic depth to Algerian security. Since the rich region has been target by many countries such as France, USA and even Libya due to region richness of natural resources and its strategic location.

Thereby, Algeria has been working for a long time to peace-making in the region, and seeking to free the zone of competitors in the area, from France[194] as a traditional colonizer had deeply known the sub-Saharan Africa and its worthy natural resources , passing through USA that searching to find a competitive place by relying on the counter-terrorism factor in the region, within fighting terrorism strategy that enables USA to spread its militaries, and arriving to Libya that has played a role of feeder of tensions and conflicts in the region by arming some tribes, within its policy aimed at constituting a desert barrier starts from Chad passing through Niger and Mali, relying on the region's tribes that seek to overcome the Central Africa by penetrating east and west, beside the Tuargui aim that was to create the Greater Tuareg State. And even during and in the post Libya revolution 2011; many armed gangs used to smuggle weapons from Libya, belonged to Tuareg at that time worked together with Bamako's governments[195].

In terms of cutting off any foreign interference, Algeria's position has been very clear and totally against countries using counter-terrorism pretext to intervene in the Sahel, within Algerian response that asserted on Algerian rejection of its territory being headquarters of AFRICOM, further, Algeria called Sahel Countries for boarders

[194] - Jean-Paul Gourévitch : La France en Afrique, cinq siècles de présence, vérités et mensonges, Paris, le pré aux Clercs 2004, P. 358.
[195] - arayalmostenir.com

security from terrorism, arms smuggling, illegal emigration…etc, and being far away from American guardianship[196].

Algerian position, thereby, is could be considered as a clear signal for Sahel countries to adopt a common strategy for self-defense from pets and phenomena better than giving up and opening doors to the USA intervention that not only involves in pursuing terrorism (al-Qaeda in Islamic Maghreb), but it transcends all phenomena to intervene in countries and people sovereignty in the region[197].

Within these circumstances; international competition in the region and reports that predict the transformation of the Sahel into "second Afghanistan" show clearly the significance of the sub-Saharan Africa and its impact on Algerian security, with exacerbating risks come from the region (look to the Asymmetric threats in the previous chapter) that dish out to serious security issues for Algeria, specifically with the period explosion of Tuareg problem that leads to a huge number of refugees from Mali and Niger.

Another thing we have to point out here, is the Algerian south boarders that extend over 4000km in the Sahel, with the severe weather and natural conditions and the lack of capabilities to face increased smuggling gangs in the recent year, that use to smuggle weapons from Libya, Mauritania and Niger, drugs from Morocco and smuggling fuel[198] from Algeria to Mali. Even more, Many African capitals are much closer to Tamanrasset in the south of Algeria than to Algiers (Tamenrasset to Algiers is 1575km) , for instance:

- Niamey (Capital of Niger) 1049km.
- Tripoli (Libya) 1353km.
- Ouagadougou (Burkina Faso) 1380km.
- Abuja (Nigeria) 1543km.
- N'Djaména (Chad) 1557km.

[196] - ظريف شاكر: البعد الامني الجزائري في منطقة الساحل ة الصحراء الافريقية التحديات ة الرهانات، مذكرة ماجيستير، علوم سياسية باتنة، 2010، ص. 44.
[197] - صابر بليدي: استعمار في اهاب مقاومة الارهاب حرب امريكا لتطويع افريقيا"آفريكوم"، العرب العالميلة ، 2007/11/27، ص.
[198] - عشوي على: سياسة الجزائر في منطقة الساحل الافريقي، مذكرة ماجيستير، علوم سياسية ، جامعة الجزائر، 1997، ص.21.

Also for In Guezzam city in the south of Algeria as well keeps away from Algiers by 1932km, and it is by that closer to 11 African capitals :

- Niamey (Capital of Niger) 779km.
- Tripoli (Libya) 1665km.
- Ouagadougou (Burkina Faso) 1119km.
- Abuja (Nigeria) 1185km.
- N'Djaména (Chad) 1292km.
- Porto Novo (Bénin) 1495km.
- Lomé(Togo) 1575km.
- Bamako (Mali) 1661km.
- Accra (Ghana) 1689km.
- Yaoundé (Cameroon) 1856km.
- Yamoussoukro (Cote d4Ivoire) 1856km[199].

[199] - منصور لخضاري: Ibid; p.p.208-209.



Figure 5[200] : Tamanrasset and In Guezzam with African Capitals

3.1.2 Strategic intersections of the Sahel region with Algeria

1- Extensions of Targui Tribes:

Algeria as well is involved in constituting a transnational geographical space inhabited by Targui tribes, which represent a shared intersection point with the Sahel region. However, Algerian Tuarguis are different from other Tuareg in the Sub-Saharan Africa, since they feel themselves Algerians and enjoy their rights within their integration to Algerian nationalism as a part of the nation. Conversely, not as other Tuarguis who are described as minority motivated by grievance in other African countries, led them take up arms against governments of countries where they live, as a way to claim what they see their rights.

[200] - Our World Commentary : Some thoughts on today's world, Penny Bradley, February27th 2013, see: https://penniwinkleb.wordpress.com/2013/02/27/just-how-many-countries-are-being-bombed-by-the-usa-now/

According estimations, there are about three to four million Targuis in the Sahel region, they occupy 2.5 million km2, divided into five countries; 85% in Mali (stand of 10% of Malian population), as they represent 10% of the population in Niger, Libya, Burkina Faso[201] and 15 thousand of them are living in Algerian territory[202].

2- Increased Terrorist Activities in the Region:

Increased terrorist activities in the Sahel region have had a strategic rebound and direct effects on Algeria. In addition to security deterioration and the affiliated escalation of terrorist activity to criminal actions in adjacent areas to Algerian national borders, diverse linked illegal and criminal actions to active terrorist groups that have their terrorist leaders based in Algeria, have increased Algerian reactions and considerations for the need towards building a national security strategy.

The operation of kidnapping 32 tourists that took place in February 2003 in the south of Algeria by SGPC(Salafist Group for Preaching and Combat), was only the beginning of a new chapter of long kidnapping series onwards in the Sahel, after then terrorists used to kidnap foreigners particularly European tourists, traders and residents[203], in order to use them as a financial source by swapping them with money within their famous world of FIDIA "Ransom". As a reaction, Algiers has responded with its diplomacy to mobilize support for its proposal to "criminalization of payment of ransom", and convinced both African Union and Arab league to adopt, more than that, its proposal was adopted by the Security Council decision issued in the 17 of December 2009 under the article 1409[204].

Further, the increased convergence of SGPS and el-Qaeda that conducts these two groups to constitute the so called el-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (QIM) in 2007,

---

[201] - GITPA(group International de travail pour les peoples autochtones : France,PDF copy, p.1, see ; http://www.gitpa.org/Peuple%20GITPA%20500/gitpa500-4-TOUAREGfiche.pdf

[202] - FNAOM-ACTDM / CNT : Les nomades du Sahara Méridional, pdf copy, p.1, see : http://www.troupesdemarine-ancredor.org/Archives/archives-Tropiques/Pages2012/Fichiers/Touareg.pdf

[203] - منصور لخضاري: Op.Cit, p.211.

[204] - Mhand Berkouk : Il faut revoir notre concept de sécurité nationale, Journal El-Watan, 27 octobre 2010.

increase the seriousness[205] of the security circumstances by its increased series of attacks in the Sahel.

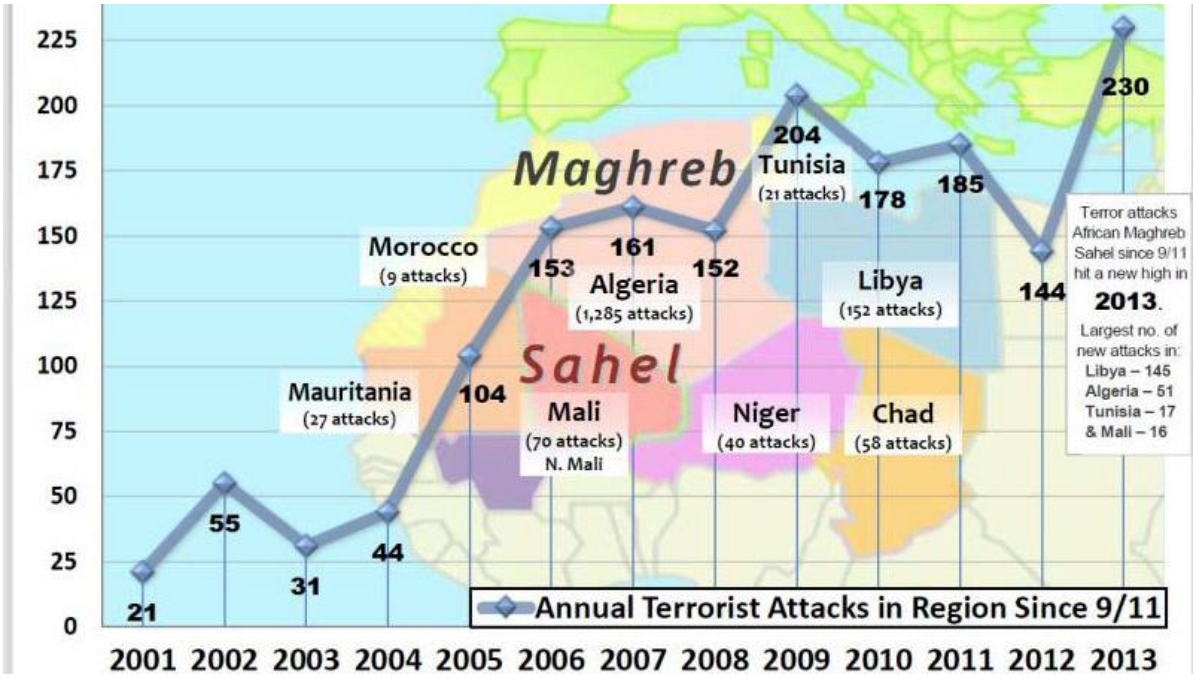


Figure 6[206] : Terrorist Attacks in Maghreb and Sahel since 9/11.

The appearance of the QIM that belongs to al-QAEDA led the international community takes its responsibility to fight against terrorism, drove the region being a war arena opened a security gap to Algeria since it has open borders to the Sahel, the link of QIM to some Algerians by one hand, and the area attraction to many foreign security policies and strategies out of the region[207].

Many scholars argued that, QIM would never stand for a danger spread if there had not relied on several criminal activities and rebel separatist movements that terrorist groups

[205] - Jean-Pierre Filiu : La véritable histoire d'Al-Qaida, Paris. Librairie Arthème Fayard.Pluriel 2011, P. 339.

[206] - Patomac Institure for Policy Studies : New Report Outlines Dramatic Increase in Terrorist attacks in the Maghreb and Sahel, Report Released At 16th Annual Event on "International Cooperation in Combating Terrorism, see: http://www.potomacinstitute.org/46-news-room/press-releases/674-new-report-outlines-dramatic-increase-in-terrorist-attacks-in-the-maghreb-and-sahel

[207] - منصور لخضاري: Op.Cit, p.211.

had been using before their alliance, for instance Iyad ag Ghali the founder of people's movement for the liberation of Azawad has played the role of negotiating broker between terrorists and governments that had had abducted nationals in the Sahel region. Even, both asserted studies and statements on deterioration of the security situation, highlighted the relevance and overlap between terrorist groups and criminal organizations[208], and the involvement of QIM in smuggling drugs from Colombia through Europe and the Sahel region to Spain[209].

3- **Illegal immigration:**

Algeria's open borders to the Sahel region has stood for a peaceful place for African immigrants living under poverty, terrorism attacks, and conflict in their home-lands. Thus, waves of African immigrants hitherto are still displacing towards Maghreb countries generally, and Algeria specifically, escaping from their countries to survive and to find for some of them better economic circumstances within they can join and get better life than they have been, whilst, part of them are using Algeria as a transit country from which they could easily reach Europe.

Algerian authority has started earlier to prevent illegal immigrants whom their entrances to the country are suspicious, and it has followed many measures and procedures for expected consequences and threats might deeply threat Algerian local security for years to come. The Algerian prime minister expressed his fears in March 2008 abut illegal immigration phenomenon that carries danger known and unknown illnesses, trafficking, and could be even used as a way for terrorists to reach Algeria[210].

As a first preventing procedure, Algerian authority started to return immigrants back to their countries in coordination with immigrants' governments, and launched by that the National Office for Combating Illegal Immigration in 2006, that being under the tutelage of the Ministry of the Interior which per se field consolidated by three

[208] - Soumeylou Boubéye-Maiga : Risques et enjeux sécuritaires dans l'espace sahélo-saharien , Sécurité globale, N° 15, printemps, p.10.
[209] - International Center for Terrorism Studies at the Potomac Institute for Policy Studies Maghreb and Sahel Terrorism: Addressing the Rising Threat from al-Qaeda and other Terrorists in North and West Central Africa, U.S.A January 2010, P 4.
[210] - La Tribune : Journal algérien, 9 Juillet 2008.

regional bands for investigating into illegal immigration in the cities of Janet, Maghnia and Souk Ahras[211].

Huge numbers of immigrants are still moving to country, in 2005 Algerian authority stated 3234 arrested illegal immigrants, 2244 were returned back to their countries. Whereas Ali Bensaâd claimed that the given number did not express the real number of African immigrant in Algeria, he has further gone to argue that between 300 to 600 immigrants were weekly returned back to their countries from December 2004 to January 2005 in the border center of Tin Zaouatine (Tamanrasset city in the South of Algeria)[212]. Nowadays, Algeria still knows a huge waves of immigrants spread over all the country, even big cities amongst Algiers witnesses an Africanized life nature, wherein a huge number of Africans prefer living under bridges, train wagons out of camps they have to be in[213]. Moreover, for Algerian TV Channels' tracker, sees many interviews have been with African immigrants refuse to leave the country since they feel their wellbeing in Algeria, the facilities they find with Algerian authority that consider them guests, and even the generosity of Algerian people who supports and donates money to Africans who use to begging as their easy ways to get money. Till now, there is no specific number of Africans reaching or are in the country, except some newspapers pointing out some numbers that were returned back[214].

---

[211] - منصور لخضاري: Op.Cit, p.215.

[212] - Ali Bensaâd]Ed : Le Maghreb à l'épreuve des immigrants subsahariennes, Immigration sur émigrations, éditions Karthala. Paris. 2009, p. 18.

[213] - Al-kabar : Algerian newspaper, see :http://www.elkhabar.com/press/article/89831/55%D8%A3%D9%84%D9%81%D9%84%D8%A7%D8%AC%D8%A6-%D8%B3%D9%88%D8%B1%D9%8A-%D9%88%D8%A5%D9%81%D8%B1%D9%8A%D9%82%D9%8A-%D9%81%D9%8A-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%AC%D8%B2%D8%A7%D8%A6%D8%B1/#sthash.FcqZ2gFy.dpbs

[214] - 12000 immigrants were turned back to their countries in 2014. Aljazeera.net see : http://www.aljazeera.net/news/immigration/2016/6/13/%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%AC%D8%B2%D8%A7%D8%A6%D8%B1-%D9%88%D8%AC%D9%87%D8%A9-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%A3%D9%81%D8%A7%D8%B1%D9%82%D8%A9-%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%85%D9%87%D8%A7%D8%AC%D8%B1%D9%8A%D9%86-%D9%85%D9%86-%D8%AC%D9%86%D9%88%D8%A8%D9%8A-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%B5%D8%AD%D8%B1%D8%A7%D8%A1

3.2 Algerian mechanisms to cope with security threats in the Sahel region

3.2.1 At the National level

From the previous cited threats, Algeria has suffered for many years from terrorist phenomenon on its territory since the crisis of 1990s that has started with FLN party, and as an Algerian reaction to tackle with terrorism, it has sought to prevent its crisis throughout its policy of operational field work and national reconciliation.

Operational field work

At the beginning of 1992 to 1993 of Algerian crisis, Algerian authorities used to use direct confrontation against terrorists since the supreme state council was constituted then by militaries that their strategy was based on using force to fight and tackle with terrorist problem in the country. Specifically after the series of terrorist attacks that targeted military barracks and police stations (500 gendarmes and polices were killed during one year in 1993)

Consequently, many security units were created from army, and from police (B.M.P.J) -115 units- specialized in fighting terrorists. Many techniques have been used, militarily, army used to fight against these groups in relying on combing operations over mountains and places where terrorists exist, even special intervention teams from police unites have followed many techniques to penetrate these groups after having collected data upon terrorism since 1996[215].

National reconciliation policy

National reconciliation policy in Algeria, has crowned by a steady stream of initiatives that used to find an alternative approach to achieve a total security in the country and to counter the rising of terrorist activities. This initiative went back to "the law of Mercy" of 95-12 issued in February 25th 1995, to the law of Civil harmony policy that launched in July 01st 1999, onwards the law of national reconciliation, in order to overcome Algeria bloody crisis towards a peaceful era that enable to achieve development[216].

3.2.2 At the regional level

The discussion of military alliance at the regional level and its link to security has been clearly existed and talked in the new realism approaches, and the alliance has been tackled as strategic policy to maintain stability in the concept of "balance of power" in

[215] - منصور لخضاري: Op.Cit, p.98.

[216] - For further information about national reconciliation text see : http://www.elmouradia.dz.

order to make and convert authoritarian system more peaceful to automatic control of frontal interests between sovereign acts. And as a consequence interests between states become a result toward the regional system establishment, based on understanding rather than force.

In this case, K-Waltz argued that the existence of an enemy state encourages other states to establish a collective unit as a response against common threats. In the same case S.Walts asserts on the concept of "balance of power" as a proposal of balancing of error to explain state's security fears, that conduct states consequently to establish common interests as a result of the existed of common threats.This explanatory approaches come generally to emphasize and help us to understand the regional cooperation between sates as a temporary phenomenon duo to emergency circumstances.

The same approaches were firstly to establish a relationship's foundation between regional cooperation and security, whereas the basic principles emerged from the concept of "Anarchical world" in the realist theory, what led believers in institutions to deal with cooperation to minimize fears and insecurity[217] between states[218]. So generally theses approaches explanatory models try to emphasize and help to understand regional unit between states as a temporary phenomenon to conclude there is a need of unit.

So, realizing unites conducts states to rely on institutions, to combine between politics and security that has been started from the concept of anarchical world. Thus, institutional work came to minimize fears and securities doubts between states, and regional unite is one of these kinds of unites by creating common behaviors that lead to the security. This new evolution in international relations towards international alliances enables states to avoid wars and to establish common interests[219].

Here again, it is worthy to cite the fact that African states unite to tackle with Tuareg crisis in the Saharan region; the Tuareg fighters in the Algerian, Malian and the Nigerian boarders caused insecurity problems with which one state capacities are not

[217] - James J. Hentz," international relations theory, communitarism and US, Grand strategy whither Africa" American behavior Scientist, 2005,2005. P1560.
[218] - Anddrzej Tusicisny, op, cit, p 426.-122-
[219] - Ibid.

enough to tackle with[220]. Also militias[221] within African society are one of the problems added to insecurity problems in the region.

Knowing that alliances could be built at different levels, however our concern under this content is the regional level[222]; that draws an analogy to international level at system rules, common standards between states. However, regional level differs from other levels in terms of :

- regional neighboring,
- common interests that push countries to the system loyalty
- The sense of excellence and privacy that the members states recognize in their individuality of their regional system that per se constitutes a basis for the move towards integration in other fields.
- Cultural convergence and social harmony.[223]

Some argue that regional system is the system of interactions in the region or a limited territory includes a group of countries, which are determined on a geographical or interactive basis at the culture, social and political levels[224].

Coming back to Algerian mechanisms at the regional level. Algeria as a directly concerned state with these data and changes at the security map in the region by its northern part of the country, pushes it(Algeria) to take account of this strategic imbalance in the region. And, from this perspective, Algeria has made efforts to reduce threats in the region by various diplomatic and legal initiatives under the slogan of Africanisation of solutions.

It is pretty known that Africa has gone through various stages of reaching modern states since the colonial times, in accordance with democratic standards capable of ensuring the increased demands of individuals and groups within African states. Adding the fact that the African problems (see chapter two) that imposed somehow on bilateral, and collective policies on the map of African relations, what has led African countries to establish the first collective building of the former OAU(organization of

---

[220] - As we have noted above in the chapter two.
[221] - Tania Felicio . p55.
[222] - A huge discussion upon regional level(even this level contains many levels) .
[223] - الدور الصيني في النظام الاقليمي لجنوب اسيا بين الاستمرار و التغيير، 2008- ص.14.
[224] - Ibid, P.17.

African Unity)1963, and currently the African union. By that Africa has had an experience in collective coordination and collective action to conflict resolution. First initiatives to tackle with African problems has started with the first leaders with OAU, and through the current AU that relies on the will of members stats to respond to a range of threats that were initially focused on strengthening the independence of the newly independent states. A number of models are integrated politically and economically with African leaders; south of Africa's president's effort against AIDS and Algerian president Abdulaziz Bouteflica who has asserted from the first time to fight against terrorism and Tuareg crisis in the region.

Generally, African states' efforts have focused basically on fighting against terrorism and organized crime as serious threats, affect Saharan Africa, Sahel region and the horn of Africa that African countries answered within two phases; pre NEPAD[225] and post NEPAD.

During the first phase of pre NEPAD's period, the constitution has included, determined and condemned threats security of individual and groups within the article N°3, and the article N°5 that have been strengthened in Dakar Summit[226].

Both of diplomatic and legal efforts have been continued to monitor conflicts and criminalization of various crimes within Tunis, Cairo summits that being crowned into Algeria convention for fighting against terrorism in 14 July 1999. Algeria has been behind this convention since it has been a victim of the black decade since 1990[227].

In 2004 African countries established officially the ACSRT[228] in Algeria (African Center for the study and research on terrorism), that is financed by African Union-the center was officially launched by the Algerian president[229], and also CIS Council of International Schools in 2002.

Both African summits and conventions have continued to be crowned to cooperation at the development partnership document NEPAD in the 37th AU session

[225] - The New partner for African development .
[226] - noel stott, armed non-state actors in Africa and the ban on anti-personnel landmies; Africa Security Review13.2004, p.06.
[227] - Ibid.
[228] - see the ACRST web page on : http://caert.org.dz/.
[229] - Union Africane second reunion intergouvernementale de haut niveau sur la prevention et la lutte contre le terrorisme en Afrique 13 et 14 octobre 2004 a Alger, Algerie p03.

as a result of African leaders of Algeria, Egypt, Senegal, Nigeria and South of Africa. IGAD also is an African foundation that has been for the coordination with the African union through the East African countries in Addis Ababa in July 2003[230] to launch the Algiers convention for the suppression of terrorism1999, resolutions and Continental Echo.

3.3 Obstacles Algeria faces in bringing security in the Sahel region:

3.3.1 Obstacles linked to Sahel region:

Many problems still stand against achieving security in the Sahel region. Adding to what we have written above[231], Obstacles linked to Sahel region are meant here local factors that still hampered the achievement of security in the region.

Both weakness of political will and the lack of commitment of African countries, illustrate the field states' behaviors towards combating terrorism; where many countries agreed and asset on Algerian approaches(regional one) for fighting terrorists, some African field countries have been still biased toward different international approaches that France had led. Algerian approaches has always asserted on Non-interference in the internal affairs states, nor paying ransom[232]to terrorists and no dealing with terrorists organizations, more than that it calls for the declaration of prior consultation in any common military actions with foreign countries.

We have seen Mali's overcoming of regional conventions has led to diplomatic crisis with Algeria when Mali has released of wanted terrorists in Algeria, and also the joint military operations between Mauritania and France has introduced African states behaviors towards regional agreements.

Institutional weakness in its turn, introduce state inability to cope with internal problems in African states. Further, the weakness of economic capabilities opened a gap to a hug security problem for states like Mauritania and specially Mali to border control. Other problems for instance state weakness at different level, all come together to understand African security problems.

3.3.2 International completion in the Sahel region

During the cold war, Africa has not had such importance as much as that has started since 1990s. Even though many voices claim that Africa got its importance within international arena because of human drama and escalated threats of illegal emigration, terrorism and African countries' internal conflicts that Africa stands for since then, however, number observers have a doubt on this approach that leaded by

---

[230] - https://igad.int/.

[231] -see : chapter 2

[232] - حسن بلخيرات :المقاربة الامنية الاقليمية لمواجهة الارهاب في الساحل الافريقي، اوت2010، ص.

USA as a pretext of democratization, human rights and strengthening economic development, to reach Africa's lands and deserts .

The America's interests in Africa have been starting since Bill Clinton arriving to the White House, when he spent a visit of 11days in Africa, and asserted on including Africa in the US's foreign policy agenda. The same approach has George W.Bush has adopted, who has employed all possible means to penetrate the continent that has been under France influence for a long time. Thus on the name of democratic transformation and peace building, the USA reformulated the strategic compass towards available possibilities in the continent. Even though western political leaders are well known about difficulties and risks that characterize Africa, Africa's great natural and energy resources have push westerns to combat and be among new style war, and that what western policy makers call "New Barbarism[233]".

African continent security status has subsequently increased after 11 September attacks, especially when American have been attacked, what led consequently military in PENTAGON to call for the need to strengthen military coordination with the countries of the continent, particularly in the Sahel region that became a haven for al Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb. As a result, American decision was to establish a military command enables Pantagon to establish military arrangements and appropriate economic growth, thus, the first African AFRICOM command has been to focus on prevention, cooperation and development according the speech of George W.Bush in February 6th 2007[234].

Coming back to the Sahel region, the USA security plan has observably seen on the ground since the USA considers that the Sahel region is disturbing area and is not controlled, it(USA) created a SPE(Sahel Plan initiative) in Marsh 2004 that transferred later to TSCTI(Trans Saharan Counter Terrorism Initiative in 2005) . This initiative enables all of Mali, Niger, Mauritania and Chad to strengthen their capabilities in order to control their borders from drugs, weapons and terrorists[235].

May it seems impressing when we are talking about international security plan in Africa, but, did foreign plans moved out after they had arrested"Saharan Bin Laden[236]"?.

Many observers who are interested in African affairs still questioning the USA existing in Africa, since the USA history argued that America does not move out off its borders

---

[233] - This concept has been used by Robert Caplan for the first time, when he was analyzing Serra Lion's war circumstance as a result of a Social explosion , see:
Christopher Isike; the united states Africa command,Enhancing American security or fostering Africa development ?, African security review, 17-1 2008, p.21.

[234] - Robert G,Berschinski africom's dilemma ; the global war on terrorismand the futur of US, security policy in Africa, SSI, 2007 p.8.

[235] Christopher Isike ; Ibid, p.33.

[236] - Abdurrazak Alpara's surname, sees : Hocine Malti : la guerre de Bush pour le petrole ; www.algeria-watch.com) 21 Marsh 2008.

if there is no interests. From this point they argued that USA existence is because of natural resources in the continent. Further, during last 10 years the USA international companies have invested about 30 to 40 billion Dollar in extracting oil in central and western Africa, what provides thousands jobs to America[237], and also uranium that Niger stands for 10 percent of world production[238].

Uranium in its turn has attracted not only USA, even China has aligned with its companies to compete in Africa by getting exploration contract in 2006 in Agadez in Nigeria in 2006, that breaks France monopoly in the region[239], as we find China's investments in Algeria, Gabon Nigeria.

France as traditional influence in Africa has been known with its both classical diplomacy and military intervention for peace keeping to maintain its interests in Africa. France has strong relationship with African countries, as it has about 6000 French soldiers in Africa help for strengthening African capacities in peace keeping program (RECAMP), as it has led many military exercises; amongst GUIDI MAKHA with the participant of 3500 multinational soldiers, also the French culture that is very spread in Africa[240], all these come together to help France getting and reaching its interests easily.

This international competition has started with France as an old influent power , then followed by the USA by using pretexts of democratization and human right that followed by China as an Asian economic power competitor in Africa. It is impressive to talk about powers existence in Africa and their roles to cope with terrorism and African problems, but it must also we note that the same factors that called foreign powers to Africa are the same pretexts that USA and even France still use to maintain their interests in Africa on the name of combating terrorism, economic problem, human rights…etc.

Many questions come to mind when we analyze the foreign existence that has been covered by combating terrorism. Africa has never seen terrorism before 1990s, and African problems are clearly known of poverty, ignorance, and ethnical problems. Considering African Sahel in international agenda to cope with terrorism is a big risk that Algeria has asserted on, furthermore, few years ago Africa was an attractive place for tourists from over the world, and the number of victims during and after then, were because of internal problems. How could Chad, Niger , Mali and Mauritania participate in this suspicious war and their states are overwhelmed in disease, drug smuggling, disasters and …etc.

---

[237] - Sandra T.arnes. Global Flows : terror , oil and strategic philanthropy, african studies review, v48.N°1, April 2005, p.3.

[238] - Anna Bendik : bataille pour l'uranium au Niger, le monde diplomatique-juin 2008.

[239] - J-Keenan : uranium goes Critical in Niger. Tuareg rebilions threatenSahelian conflagration, review of African political economy.2006.p.466..128.

[240] - Pondi : la cooperation franco africaine vue d'afrique, revue internationale et strategique, N)45, 2002, p

Conclusion:

To sum up, the study indicates that the evolution of security in post cold war and 11 September has pushed states to keep up with changes that happened in international affairs, in order to keep their nation security. And Algeria with its strategic geographical location became more required to revise its relationships with neighboring countries, especially in its southern wind wherein many threats and security problems.

To keep with security changes, it is required that Algeria has to rebuild its strategy again towards African Sahel region by reforming a new agenda, that has to be based on not only defensive reaction, but also effective actions. Further, Algeria should keep up with all changes, react before things happen by focusing on human security that stands for a great problem in the region, and it has to diversify its actions between diplomacy and military.

The African security nature obscurity introduces the lack of awareness of Algerian policy makers. As the development in Africa is the key that could help to peace making in the region.

Algeria has played a great role at diplomatic level in Africa, to keep peace whether African common or inter-states problem, and it has well done to keep peace between Mali and Tuareg, especially with the coming of Abdul-Aziz Bouteflica. As, it worthy to illustrate here again, the Algerian efforts to keep working at the regional level with African countries to solve political and security problems.

Algerian's insufficient interest in the region opens the way to both local and foreign powers to use African problems for their interests, especially the strategic position that Sahel region plays with its natural resources. That what we have seen with France, USA and China that used African problems as justifications to intervene and reach Africa.

The international mobility and the struggle of big power in Africa put Algerian and regional security at stake, where the region is expected to witness and face serious changes could exacerbate security problems, economic and even the social building in the region.

According the African circumstances, the given current data makes Sahel region likely to attract more terrorists' actions. Thus is there any real desire to cope with security chaos in the Sahel region, it is required to:

- Developing successful mechanisms aimed at developing the region to eradicate, poverty, famine, political marginalization and building an effective mechanisms for good governance.
- To develop economic relations within the region, increase trade exchanges and encourage economic investment between African countries.

- To work more on regional action mechanisms and multilateral coordination among involved actors in peace and security processes in the region. As, should for African countries invest in great economic investment in the Sahel region.
- Expand consultation and coordination network with regional and international organizations as UN and its social.

BIBLOGRAPHY

English Bibliography:

Barry Buzan, Ole Wæver and Jaap de Wilde: Security: A New Framework for Analysis, Lynne Rienner Publishers, Boulder London, 1998.

BarryBuzan : New Patterns of Global Security in the Twenty-first Century, International Affairs, 67.3 (1991).

Barry Buzan : People, States and Fear: An Agenda For International Security Studies in the Post- Cold War Era. 2nd Edition . Harvester Wheatsheaf .

Berkowiz, Morton (eds), American National Security, Free Press, New york.1965.

Christopher Isike; the united states Africa command,Enhancing American security or fostering Africa development ?, African security review, 17-1 2008.

Cooperation under the security dilemma :World politics,N.2,Januarry 1978.

David Baldwin, "Thinking about threats," Journal of Conflict Resolution 15 (1971).

Doyle, M: New Thinking in International Relations Theory, Boulder, West view Press,1997.

Emanuel Adler: Seizing the Middle Ground: Constructivism in World Politics", European Journal of International Relations, Vol. 3, No. 3, 1997.

Emma Rothschild, 'What is Security?, Daedalus, 124 (1995).

Fred Nickols: Strategy Definitions and Meanings, pdf,2016. see: http://www.nickols.us/strategy_definitions.pdf

Funk and Wagnalls Standart Dictionary, International Edition, Funk and Wagnalls company, USA 1960.

Helga Haftendorn, Robert O. Keohane and Celeste A. Wallander: Imperfect Unions, Security Institutions over Time and Space, Oxford University Press, 1999.

Helga Haftendorn: The Security Puzzle: Theory-Building and Discipline-Building in International Security, International Studies Quarterly ,1991.

http://www.afahc.ro/ro/revista/Nr_1_2012/Articol_Pirnuta_Secarea. pdf.

https://www.surrey.ac.uk/politics/research/researchareasofstaff/isppsummeracademy/instructors%20/Stein%20-%20Threat%20Perception%20in%20International%20Relations.pdf

International Center for Terrorism Studies at the Potomac Institute for Policy Studies Maghreb and Sahel Terrorism: Addressing the Rising Threat from al-Qaeda and other Terrorists in North and West Central Africa, U.S.A January 2010.

International relations and security concepts. Human security journal. Vol. 5. 2007.

James Goldgeier and Jeremi Sur: Revitalizing the U.S. National Security Strategy, THE Washington Quarterly, pdf paper.

Janice Gross Stein : Threat perception in international relations, Forthcoming in The Oxford Handbook of Political Psychology, 2nd ed. Edited by Leonie Huddy, David O. Sears, and Jack S. Levy. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013, PDF, p1. See:

J-Keenan : uranium goes Critical in Niger. Tuareg rebilions threaten Sahelian conflagration, review of African political economy.2006.

Joseph J. Defining national security: the nonmilitary aspects, on : http://books.google.co.in/books?id=shxDOnuVcyYC&printsec=frontcover&hl=ru#v=onepage&q&f=true/-04.12.2013.

James J. Hentz," international relations theory, communitarism and US, Grand strategy whither Africa" American behavior Scientist, 2005,2005.

Koschnik 1992,P.210, quoted from; Hans Günter Brauch : Concepts of Security Threats, Challenges, Vulnerabilities and Risks, pdf, Coping Global Environmental Change, Disasters and Security, 2011, on: https://www.google.com.tr/search?sclient=psyab&biw=1366&bih=568&noj=1&q=Concept+of+threat+PDF&oq=Concept+of+threat+PDF&gs_l=serp.3..0i22i30k1l2.541622.547804.1.548138.5.5.0.0.0.0.516.1092.2-2j5-1.3.0....0...1c.1j2.64.serp..2.2.571...0i10i30k1j0i30k1j0i8i30k1.X94Iz6N_YTA.

Macmillan English Dictionary, international student Edition, Malaysia2006.

Marianne Stone : Security according to Buzan; A comprehensive Security Analysis, Security Discussion paper series 1, Spring 2009, PDF, P.3, see the link; http://www.geest.msh paris.fr/ IMG/pdf/ Security_ for_ Buzan. mp3. pdf.

Mieczyslaw Malec : Security perception: Within and beyond the traditional approaches,Master's thesis , Naval postgraduate school, Monterey, California, 2013.

National Security, Common Security, Collective Security, Shared Security, Human Security.See: THE EVOLUTION OF THE CONCEPT OF SECURITY PDF, IEEE Framework Document TCol. DEM Mario Laborie Iglesias, Nº 05/2011.

Nilüfer Karacasulu - Elif Uzgören: EXPLAINING SOCIAL CONSTRUCTIVIST CONTRIBUTIONS
TO SECURITY STUDIES, PDF, Link: http://sam.gov.tr/wp-content/uploads/2012/02/KaracasuluUzgoren.pdf,2017.

Noel stott, armed non-state actors in Africa and the ban on anti-personnel landmies; Africa Security Review13.2004.

Oana-Andreea Pirnuta and Dragos Nicolae Secarea: Defining the Liberal concept of security:
Liberalist and its impact on security systems, Transilvania. University. Brasov. Romania, Lucian Blaga University, Sibiu, Romania, Pdf,see the link:

Our World Commentary : Some thoughts on today's world, Penny Bradley, February27th 2013, see: https://penniwinkleb.wordpress.com/2013/02/27/just-how-many-countries-are-being-bombed-by-the-usa-now/

Patomac Institure for Policy Studies : New Report Outlines Dramatic Increase in Terrorist attacks in the Maghreb and Sahel, Report Released At 16th Annual Event on "International Cooperation in Combating

Pine Roehrs: Weak states and implications for regional security: A case study of Georgian instability and Caspian regional insecurity, Rea=search paper N°97, research institute for Europian and American studies, 2005.

Prabhakaran.P. National security: imperatives and challenges. See:http://books.google.co.in/books?id=DMzcGe0HQwC&printsec=frontcover&hl=ru#v=onepage&q&f=true

Raimo V. Concepts of Security Revisited. *Mershon International Studies Review* 39 (suppl. 2), 1995.

Raymond Cohen:Threat perception in International Crisis, The University of Wisconsin Press, 1979.

Robert G,Berschinski africom's dilemma ; the global war on terrorismand the futur of US, security policy in Africa, SSI, 2007 .

Robert Ondrejcsák : Introduction to Security Studies, Centre for European and North Atlantic Affairs (CENAA), Bratislava 2014.

Sally Wehmeier, (ed), Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary, 6thEdition, Oxford University Press, 2001.

Sandra T.arnes. Global Flows : terror , oil and strategic philanthropy, african studies review, v48.N°1, April 2005.

Steve Smith and Patricia Owens; Alternative Approaches to International Theory", in John Baylis and

Steve Smith and Patricia Owens: The Globalization of World Politics, Oxford University Press, 2001.

Simmons.B and others : Introduction :The international diffusion of Liberalism, International organization, 2006.

Taylor, Maxwell C, Precarious Security, Norton. New York, 1976.

Terrorism, see: http://www.potomacinstitute.org/46-news-room/press-releases/674-new-report-outlines-dramatic-increase-in-terrorist-attacks-in-the-maghreb-and-sahel

The oxford Universal Dictionary Illustrated , third edition, Oxford University Press, Eli Hous, London1965, V1.

Turkce Sozluk,

War and the Liberal conscience; New Brunswick, Rutgers University Press, 1978.

Wolfers, Arnold, 1962: "National Security as an Ambiguous Symbol", in: Wolfers, Arnold (Ed.): *Discord and Collaboration. Essays on International Politics* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press).

www.algeria-watch.com) 21 Marsh 2008.

www.elmouradia.dz.

French Bibliography :

Anna Bendik : bataille pour l'uranium au Niger, le monde diplomatique-juin 2008.

Ali Bensaâd]Ed : Le Maghreb à l'épreuve des immigrants subsahariennes, Immigration sur émigrations, éditions Karthala. Paris. 2009.

FNAOM-ACTDM / CNT : Les nomades du Sahara Méridional, pdf copy, see : http://www.troupesdemarine-ancredor.org/Archives/archives-Tropiques/Pages2012/Fichiers/Touareg.pdf

GITPA(group International de travail pour les peoples autochtones : France,PDF copy, see ; http://www.gitpa.org/Peuple%20GITPA%20500/gitpa500-4-TOUAREGfiche.pdf

Jean-Paul Charmay : Critique de la stratégie, Paris, éditions de l'Herne, 1990.

Jean-Paul Gourévitch : La France en Afrique, cinq siècles de présence, vérités et mensonges, Paris, le pré aux Clercs 2004.

Jean-Pierre Filiu : La véritable histoire d'Al-Qaida, Paris. Librairie Arthème Fayard.Pluriel 2011.

La Tribune : Journal algérien, 9 Juillet 2008.

Luc Sinjoum, Sociologie des relation internationales Africaine (Paris: Karthala, 2002).

Mhand Berkouk : Il faut revoir notre concept de sécurité nationale, Journal El-Watan, 27 octobre 2010.

Mourre Michel : Dictionnaire encyclopédique d'histoire, Paris, la Rousse- Bordas, 2eme édition, 1996.

Pondi : la cooperation franco africaine vue d'afrique, revue internationale et strategique, N)45, 2002.

Ramdane Mostefaoui : Le concept de stratégie, pdf, Université de Picarde,2013. see : http://www.foad-mooc.auf.org/IMG/pdf/m1.4_-_sequence_1.pdf.

Soumeylou Boubéye-Maiga : Risques et enjeux sécuritaires dans l'espace sahélo-saharien , Sécurité globale, N° 15, printemps.
Union Africane second reunion intergouvernementale de haut niveau sur la prevention et la lutte contre le terrorisme en Afrique 13 et 14 octobre 2004 a Alger, Algerie . https://igad.int/.

ARABIC BIBLIOGRAPGY :

أبصير احمد طالب: المشكلة الامنية في منطقة الساحل الافريقي، مذكرة لنيل شهادة الماجيستير،جامعة الجزائر 2009-2010.

ACRST web page on : http://caert.org.dz/. جريدة الخبر
Al-kabar : Algerian newspaper,
see :http://www.elkhabar.com/press/article/89831/55%D8%A3%D9%84%D9%81%D9%84%D8%A7%D8%AC%D8%A6%D8%B3%D9%88%D8%B1%D9%8A%D9%88%D8%A5%D9%81%D8%B1%D9%8A%D9%82%D9%8A%D9%81%D9%8A%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%AC%D8%B2%D8%A7%D8%A6%D8%B1/#sthash.FcqZ2gFy.dpbs
http://www.aljazeera.net/news/immigration/2016/6/13/%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%AC%D8%B2%D8%A7%D8%A6%D8%B1-%D9%88%D8%AC%D9%87%D8%A9-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%A3%D9%81%D8%A7%D8%B1%D9%82%D8%A9-%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%85%D9%87%D8%A7%D8%AC%D8%B1%D9%8A%D9%86-%D9%85%D9%86-%D8%AC%D9%86%D9%88%D8%A8%D9%8A-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%B5%D8%AD%D8%B1%D8%A7%D8%A1

إفريقيا بعد 11 سبتمبر استراتيجيات الانخراط و التعاون، ترجمة كاظم هاشم نعمة،) طرابلس:ليبيا، أكاديمية الدراسات العليا،ط.2005.

امحند برقوق: منطق الامننة في ساحل الازمات Berkouk- .
Mhand.yolasite.com

بسمة عولمي: جريمة تبييض الأموال و خطر المخدرات على الاقتصاد و سبل مكافحتها، الشعب ع 14492 . فيفري2008 .

الحافظ النويني: أزمة الدولة ما بعد الاستعمار في أفريقيا: حالة الدولة الفاشلة (نموذج مالي).pdf.

حسن بلخيرات :المقاربة الامنية الاقليمية لمواجهة الارهاب في الساحل الافريقي، اوت2010.

حسن العسبي: ما الذي يحدث باحلدود اجلنوبية للجزائر؟ يوم تستفيق »دولة« الطوارق بالمغرب العربي،مجلة الاتحاد، 24-25 مارس 2012، العدد 10.047.

الدور الصيني في النظام الاقليمي لجنوب اسيا بين الاستمرار و التغيير، 2008.

السياسية، مركز الهوية إشكالية في دراسة الإفريقي. التوجه و العربي الانتماء بين أحمدو: موريتانيا بن سعيد محمد دراسات الوحدة العربية، بيروت، ط1. 2003.

صابر بليدي: استعمار في اهاب مقاومة الارهاب حرب امريكا لتطويع افريقيا"آفريكوم"، العرب العالميلة ، 2007/11/27.

ظريف شاكر: البعد الامني الجزائري في منطقة الساحل ة الصحراء الافريقية التحديات ة الرهانات، مذكرة ماجيستير، علوم سياسية باتنة، 2010.

عشوي على: سياسة الجزائر في منطقة الساحل الافريقي، مذكرة ماجيستير، علوم سياسية ، جامعة الجزائر، 1997، ص.21.

عز الدين شكري : أزمة الدولة في إفريقيا **السياسة الدولية**، ع 110 .أكتوبر1992 ، ص-ص.50-65.

علي بن هادية وآخرون: القاموس الجديد للطلاب، الجزائر . المؤسسة الوطنية للكتاب، ط.7، 1971.

عمار جفال: وجهة نظر حول طبيعة التهديدات على الحدود الجنوبية للجزائر، العالم الاستراتيجي، الجزائر. مركز الشعب، الدراسات الاستراتيجية، العدد. 9، نوفمبر 2008.

عمورة اعمر: التهديدات الاتماثاية في منطقة الساحل الافريقي: مقاربة جيو امنية، مذكرة ماجيستير في العلوم السياسية و العلاقات الدولية، الجزائر2010-2011.

محمد بشير حامد: الشرعية السياسية وممارسة السلطة " دراسة في التجربة السودانية المعاصرة"، **المستقب ل العربي** ، ع.94، ديسمبر 1986.

محمد خميس الزوكة: إفريقيا. دراسة في الجغرافيا الإقليمية،الإسكندرية، دار المعرفة الجامعية، 2008، ص.ص.35.36.

منصور لخضاري: استراتيجية الامن الوطني في الجزائر2006-2011، أطروحة لنيل شهادة الدكتوراه ، جامعة الجزائر

ماثيو جري:"الفساد و الفقر يحميان طريق الكوكايين السريع الخط المتصل من المخدرات من غرب إفريقيا إلى أوروبا.

ابن منظور: لسان العرب، 162.V1.
نحومان حسينة: مكافحة الإرهاب في منطقة الساحل الإفريقي، مذكرة لنيل شهادة الماجستير، جامعة الجزائر3، 2012-2011.